THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Dictators Win Again

The European dictators go from one triumph to another. On Wednesday, November 2, the German and Italian Foreign Ministers met in Vienna and proceeded to carve another great slice out of Czechoslovakia—this time for Hungary's benefit. Paris and London were not even consulted: they no longer matter, in Central European affairs. Hungary gets 4,800 square miles of territory and about one million people. Hitler refused however to permit the seizure of enough Ruthenian territory to give Poland and Hungary a common frontier. Czechoslovakia has now lost in all 16,200 square miles and 4,800,000 of her people, nearly a third of both area and population. But the story of her loss is far more serious than these figures would indicate, since much of the territory sacrificed was an industrial area containing a disproportionate part of both her wealth and her facilities for producing more wealth. The remnant of Czechoslovakia is now completely Hitler's vassal; it might about as well be a province of the German Reich, which will now dictate its culture, its foreign policy, its whole life.

Spain Next

After Czechoslovakia, Spain. Although a few months ago Chamberlain indicated that he would not be satisfied with a mere token withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain, he has changed his mind since then. Mussolini has sent home (or pretended to send home) 10,000 weary veterans from his Spanish force, which still numbers perhaps 80,000 or 90,000 men, and this is enough for Chamberlain and for a majority in the House of Commons. The Anglo-Italian agreement is now to come into effect. Observers in every European capital believe that the next step will be the granting of belligerent rights to Franco, including full power to blockade the Spanish coast. France, which under Daladier shows feverish anxiety to follow England down the road to ruin, will close the frontier, and the effort will be made to starve the Loyalists into submission. That the result of all this will be disaster to the British Empire hardly needs to be said; Mr. Chamberlain has already shown how willing he is to sacrifice imperial interest to what he believes to be the welfare of his own class. As we said last week, only one man in the world is in a position to halt the efforts to make Spain another Czechoslovakia. American friendship is still all-important to Great Britain; if Mr. Roosevelt would indicate his opposition, by announcing his intention of asking Congress to raise the Spanish embargo, the whole vicious chain of events might be broken, and the future of the world look less dark.

Pan America and Guns

Sumner Welles, the Under-Secretary of State, has made a speech warning the European dictators to keep out of this hemisphere and urging the American nations to stand together in defense of peace and democratic principles. His remarks are of importance chiefly because, taken with President Roosevelt's address a week earlier, they indicate a fixed and settled policy

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of the administration. This government intends to take a firm line against any encroachments from Europe or Asia in the New World. To this end, it proposes very large and rapid additions to our military force, especially the navy and the air force. Competent military opinion assures us that some further expenditures are necessary as a means of minimum defense. It would be well, however, for the American people not to let themselves be stampeded. The "big armament" crowd, to which President Roosevelt himself from time to time seems to belong, would undoubtedly like to spend far more than is actually required. For them, the sky's the limit, and always has been. Yet caution is more than ever desirable today, when technology changes so fast and new instruments become obsolete in a matter of months. It is reported that even in our army there is fear that popular hysteria may call for changes not desirable from the military point of view. We hope Congress will insist on a searching inquiry before it rushes into vast new spending.

The Cost of Battleships

The bids are in for three of the four new 35,000-ton battleships the Navy Department hopes to have built by 1942. Three companies, Newport News, Bethlehem and New York, entered bids, each for the hull and machinery of one ship only. And the Navy Department estimates that when the government has added the armor and armament, the cost of each of these fighting machines will be about $70,000,000. That's a lot of money, even for a battleship. In all, the six new ships that are either proposed or actually under construction will cost $420,000,000, while the fifteen now in commission cost only a total of $200,000,000. There is no way of knowing, of course, whether the new ships will be worth the price. They sound formidable; each will carry a main battery of nine 16-inch guns, capable of hurling a broadside of projectiles weighing 85,000 pounds more than twenty miles. They will make twenty-five knots or more and will be equipped with the latest gadgets for anti-aircraft, submarine protection and fire control. But the last three battleships we built cost only $27,000,000 apiece. Who knows whether we shall get our money's worth? There was no real competition in the bidding; we must accept the assurance of the Navy Department that this is a fair price to pay. It would go very hard with the Roosevelt administration should the country learn, some time in the future, that on the strength of a war scare which may prove groundless, we were sold useless battleships at exorbitant prices.

Words About the Open Door

Japan has once more enunciated her doctrine of "Asia for the Asiatics," which actually means, "Asia for Japan." The American government, through Secretary Hull, has again indicated its insistence that treaties must be respected, including the Nine Power Pact, which is supposed to guarantee the Open Door in China. Secretary Hull, of course, is talking for the record, establishing as much of a bargaining position as he can. If a miracle happens, and China is able to stave off the Japanese attack, his words may become of value. Otherwise, they will soon be forgotten. The blunt truth is that the open door was never really open, and that Japan now intends it shall be slammed shut and locked. She will permit only such trade in the Orient by the United States or European powers as suits her own convenience—and that will be precious little. In cold truth, there is nothing we can do to continue our trade and investment in the Orient on a large scale except to go to war. Such a war (a) would cost us the Philippines, (b) would be almost impossible to fight in view of the width of the Pacific Ocean, (c) would cost us more every month that it continued than the entire value of our trade with the Orient is worth in a year and (d) would by no means be sure to result in an American victory. Japan, concerned about threats of American sanctions against her, is already talking darkly about reprisals against such sanctions. It is more than ever apparent what a dreadful blunder Mr. Roosevelt and Secretary Hull made in not applying the Neutrality Act more than a year ago, when the war first broke out. We should then not have been Japan's silent partner in her crimes in China, and should have avoided the dangers which now threaten if we seek to apply economic pressure.

Let the Johnson Act Alone

Reports from Washington say that in the next session of Congress a determined effort will be made to repeal the Johnson Act. This is the law, it will be remembered, which forbids further loans to the governments of European countries that are in default on their war debts. The argument runs that if we would just repeal this law, we could make new loans to the European powers and these loans could be used to buy surpluses of American agricultural products—especially cotton and wheat—and help solve our problem here at home. An ingenious suggestion, but we hope it will be turned down. Europe already owes us about twelve billion dollars, and we have for twenty years refused to let her pay this in the only possible form for vast international settlements—in goods and services. Even if we would let the debtors pay, it is doubtful whether most of them would do so. New debts would be even less collectible than the old ones, in view of the degeneration of international morals in twenty years. If we want to give away our wheat and cotton abroad, let us do so openly, without pretending that we should some day be repaid. And before we do, let us consider earnestly Secretary Wallace's suggestion for first taking care of needy persons here at home.

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The Hurricane and the Forests

The great September hurricane which took six hundred lives and cost half a billion dollars did almost unbelievable damage to New England forests. About one-half the trees were blown down in southern New England, according to estimates of expert foresters, and tremendous damage was also done in New Hampshire and Vermont. The fire risk has been very great, and still continues, though several heavy rains have helped to reduce it somewhat. All over New England, CCC, WPA and other workers have been busy in the task of rehabilitation.

The government is also planning to help the private owners of commercial woodlands, many of whom face ruin unless aided. In New Hampshire about twenty years' normal crop is on the ground. The sawmills refuse to buy much more than their accustomed quantities, prices are falling to disastrous levels and unless the wood is cut and stored quickly, it will become worthless. Proposals have been made for government loans enabling the wood to be salvaged, properly stored and released to the market gradually. Thereafter, it is hoped that entirely new forestry ideas may be installed. American owners of woodlands have followed the German idea of planting many acres of the same kind of timber, with all trees about the same age. The new effort will be to mix up many species, of differing ages. Forests of this sort, as Science Service points out, resist storms better, are a reduced fire hazard, and make a better home for game.

The CIO and Housing

The CIO recently issued a pamphlet that may prove of great importance. Called "Labor's Program for Better Housing," it tells the trade unions just how to go about obtaining a loan from the United States Housing Authority and how to build housing with it. The practical steps described parallel those listed in The New Republic by Bertram M. Gross ("So You Want Low-Rent Housing?" in our issue of June 22, 1938). The union is told how to create a local housing authority, how to get a loan, and every other detail down to management of the property after the houses have been occupied. The fact that the CIO has issued this pamphlet, and is also dealing with housing in a regular department in The CIO News, are two important straws in the wind. It will be interesting to see whether the A. F. of L. will now wake up to the importance of this question. If it did, there would be coöperation, rather than conflict, between the two groups. Houses are built, broadly speaking, by A. F. of L. men, using materials supplied by CIO workers. In many localities, the two groups are already working together successfully in furthering their common interest: decent homes for working men, at prices they can afford to pay.

News Notes of a Week

Hitler made a speech denouncing Winston Churchill in particular and the "British war party" in general. At the same time he argued that Germany had achieved nothing, in the days since the Great War, by appeals to justice and had only attained her ends when she was armed. . . . The Spanish Loyalists engaged in a vigorous counter-attack along the Ebro. . . . Importance was attached to a visit to the Vatican by Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, by far the fairest and most reasonable among leading Catholic prelates in the United States.

At home, attention was chiefly concentrated on the election. . . . The railroads accepted the report of the President's Mediation Commission against a wage cut for their workers and there were indications that the government would come to their aid financially on a large scale. . . . The American Association for Social Security issued a statement arguing against proposed changes in the law designed to answer the "$30-every-Thursday" plan and similar schemes. The Association urged that the government should promise no more than it is able to fulfill, and again attacked the vast reserve fund which runs counter to the experience and practice of every other leading country in the world.

Possibilities of the Election

WRITING ON THE EVE of an election, the results of which will be known to the readers of this editorial, does not permit much in the way of prediction. Yet so good have become our means of guessing at the outcome that certain large conclusions may be drawn, even before the votes are cast.

The Democratic victory in 1936 was unexpectedly overwhelming. The President's party gained a truly gigantic majority in the House and Senate, while the Republicans elected Governors in only three states. Many of these Democratic triumphs were achieved by only a narrow percentage margin in the popular vote, and in the normal course of events one would expect some of them to be reversed. In addition, there is usually a swing away from the party in power, especially in mid-term elections. People in office cannot help antagonizing somebody; things never go so well as we expect and the party in the ascendancy must take the blame. People out of office can always make glittering promises and point to existing faults. Finally, the country has suffered a sharp depression since the last election, which often causes a shift in political sentiment.

In view of these facts, it is a testimony to the present weakness of the Republicans that there is not the slightest chance of their coming within miles of regaining control of Congress—not even of the House of Representatives, all the members of which must stand for reëlection. If, as Democratic wiseacres predict, the

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Republicans should come out of this contest with only five Governors as opposed to their existing three, with three additional Senators and with between thirty and fifty additional Representatives, their gains would be far less than might have been expected in view of the situation. Such a result would give them no hope whatever of winning the next presidential election, barring a spectacular split in the Democratic Party. If they do better than this, and win governorships in, say, ten states, four or five new senatorships and eighty Representatives, they still will be a small minority party as far as title to political power goes. Even so, the Democrats will have the opportunity to do almost anything they desire in government during the next two years, and will be the odds-on favorites in 1940. Thus a real upset seems extremely unlikely. The President and the New Deal still have an unassailable appeal to the country.

It is in relatively minor aspects, far less predictable than the general result, that events of significance may be looked for. Will Mr. Dewey, for instance, defeat Governor Lehman in the close race in New York? If so, will that give the Republicans the chance of a popular candidate for the presidency—in spite of Mr. Dewey's promise that he will serve his full term if elected? Will the anti-radical hysteria, helped on by Father Coughlin, defeat Governor Murphy in Michigan? If so, does that mean that aggressive unionism is in peril? Will the open-shop forces win in California? Will Pennsylvania return to the Republican fold?

We must look with particular interest at the evidence concerning the political power of labor. It was unequivocal support by industrial labor for the President that swelled the Democratic majority in crucial Northern and Central states in 1936. Will the American Labor Party in New York State prove that politicians must continue to reckon with it, in spite of their attempt to leave it out in the cold because of a belief that the A. F. of L.-CIO feud would wreck it and that it was only a temporary phenomenon anyway? What will be the role of Labor's Non-Partisan League? Will there be an upset in Connecticut, where the strength of Jasper McLevy, Socialist, may cause the defeat of Democratic Governor Cross, despite labor support for the latter? The showing made by labor may have consequences far more important than the simple contest between Republicans and Democrats, because it will greatly influence the course taken by the Democratic Party itself in the immediate future.

In short, we believe that the outstanding lessons of the election will be of two kinds. Neither will directly concern the present conflict between the two major parties for national power—that is a foregone conclusion. One will have to do mainly with local and special questions, or with tendencies not yet overt, but significant for the future. The other will have to do with control of the Democratic Party itself, and with the direction it is likely to take. Concerning these things intelligent comment is not possible until complete returns are in and are digested.

Is There a Catholic Problem?

IN PUBLISHING THE SERIES entitled "The Catholic Church in Politics," beginning in this issue, The New Republic does not wish its position to be misunderstood. Adverse criticism of any Catholic organization is likely to be denounced as "bigotry" or "Ku Kluxism," as a stirring up of religious prejudice which has no place in a free democracy. That is as far as possible from our intention.

It is superfluous to say that most of the millions of Catholic communicants in this country are good citizens and good neighbors. When Alfred E. Smith, after his superlative record as Governor of New York, ran for the presidency, we supported him, and defended him against the prejudice that would deny high national office to an able man simply because he is a Catholic. We should adopt the same attitude again in similar circumstances. For instance, nobody in public life today deserves, in our opinion, higher rank as a wise legislator and an upholder of constitutional democracy than Senator Wagner of New York, a Catholic. And he is merely a prominent example of many others. It would be both foolish and unjust to distrust American Catholicism as a whole or to look askance at any individual because of his religion.

The question of religious freedom for Catholics is not even under discussion. It is a matter of course that they, like all others, have a right to worship according to their spiritual illumination. We do not hold even to the old but fictitious divorce between religion and politics. It is true that State and Church in this country are and should remain completely separate. But it is not true that political tenets are unrelated to the code of ethics or of morals which a man or an institution professes. Anyone who believes that a certain course of action on the part of public officials, or a certain law, is either right or wrong, has a duty to say so and to attempt to convert others to his belief, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, priest or layman. It is not because Catholics are prominent in politics or try to influence public opinion that some of the recent activities of the Church are worth recording and discussing.

In view of the real dangers of bigotry and prejudice, sometimes directed against religious groups in this country and even now being suffered by Jews, Catholics and Protestants in Germany, it has been with reluctance that we have decided to open up this subject at all. Nevertheless, certain well defined tendencies and activities in the Catholic Church have recently become so prominent as to force themselves on the attention of thinking Americans and to raise the issue of Catho-

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lic political policy to the magnitude of a public question. When Catholic action begins to threaten the fundamentals of democracy itself and to stand in the path of social progress, it calls for description and comment, just as activities of any other organization or social body are discussed. We have not in the past hesitated to criticize adversely the American Legion, the American Liberty League, the DAR and dozens of other organizations whose historic role and influence are far inferior to that of the Catholic Church. If we find Catholic organizations or prelates or communities taking a line of which progressives must disapprove, it is a public duty to say so.

Just as Catholics have a political and religious freedom with which others should not interfere, so the citizens in general have rights with which Catholics should not interfere. Catholic authority has a perfect legal right to tell Catholics that they should not read certain books or see certain plays, or speak in behalf of certain causes or seek divorce in the courts or practise birth control. But when, through political or economic pressure, they bring about the denial of freedom of the press or of speech or of worship to others, or force the expression in restrictive legislation of moral standards which the majority of our non-Catholic citizens do not acknowledge, they are interfering with the liberty of Americans who do not give allegiance to the authority of the Church. When these things happen, non-Catholic citizens are impelled to defend themselves and their ideals of democratic institutions.

It may be argued that in such activities Catholics behave just as pressure groups of other religious faiths, or of no religious faith, behave, and that the interaction of pressure groups is a part of the operation of modern democracy. There is no constitutional or other legal ban on the use of political influence or the threat of boycott at the polls or in the market place. We do not contend that there should be any. There are, however, certain warnings that should be noted. A pressure group that persistently interferes with the basic liberties of those who do not agree with it is likely to stimulate a strong reaction against itself. One cannot expect the victims to remain forever silent and inactive under such pressure. The Church at present enjoys complete religious and political liberty in the United States, and rightly so. If Catholics fear to arouse religious prejudice, they should exercise self-control in infringing on the rights of those who disagree with them about public questions. They must expect the formation of counter-pressure groups who will fight them with their own weapons. Thus, political power which limits the legitimate activities of non-Catholics is injudicious from the Catholic point of view itself.

Aside from this danger, it is entirely necessary and legitimate, when Catholic opinion expresses itself about public questions, for those who oppose the Catholic view in these temporal matters to know what Catholics are doing and to find a means of expressing their own opinions. If, for instance, a Catholic authority opposes the Spanish Loyalists, those of us who favor them must have an opportunity to attempt to convert public opinion to our view, and if Catholic pressure tends to force us off the rostrum, we must fight with determination to preserve our rights. Yet too many times the power of Catholic organizations, by confusing a public issue with a religious one, frightens newspapermen or public officials into denying expression to views disapproved by the religious authorities in question. The attitude in many editorial offices and among many politicians that the Church is, in journalese, a "sacred cow" and that to express oneself freely where its major public interests are concerned is foolhardy, must be dispelled. The Church cannot descend to the market place and engage in politics, and then ward off opposition by wrapping about itself the robes of sanctity.

Finally, we are under no delusion that all Catholics think alike about public matters. There are many who are leaders in forward-looking movements, many whose spiritual allegiance does not prevent them from holding views on practical questions with which we are in hearty agreement. In spite of its belief in eternal verities in the spiritual realm, the Catholic attitude toward mundane affairs and even toward human mores has altered from century to century, even from generation to generation. It is well that it should, both for the welfare of the Church and for the good of society. Intelligent American Catholics ought therefore to be particularly zealous to hold open the doors of political democracy and civil freedom, so that Catholics themselves may have an opportunity to keep in step with the changes in human affairs. Discussion of the political activities of those powerful in the Church is essential to this end, especially at a time when there seems to be an accelerated tendency to combat democracy and liberty.

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The Catholic Church in Politics[1]

I: *The Church and Freedom of Speech*

No one can fail to note the increasing attacks of the Catholic hierarchy on the right of free speech for those who oppose or criticize its doctrines. Here in the United States, where guarantees of freedom of speech and religious worship still remain inviolate, the Church has been guarded in its opposition. Recently, however, while stressing the demand of the present Pope that "the State must allow the Church full liberty to fulfill her divine and spiritual mission," Catholicism in the United States has set out boldly to hinder the expression of everything that is not to its interest. Its tactics have been to paint all liberalism Red and to brand as Communist all who strive to uphold that individual freedom disparaged by the Church.

Supporters of Loyalist Spain in this country have been harassed and have been submitted to inquisition and blackmail by Church authorities. The Monsignor of Jersey City, who backs Mayor Hague in his free-speech ban, recently questioned at length the chairman of a dinner to be given in honor of Spanish Ambassador de los Rios as to his political beliefs and threatened him with business reprisals if he did not withdraw his sponsorship. Señor de los Rios is ambassador of a power friendly to the United States and the chairman, a non-Catholic, is an American citizen, but the Monsignor's "advice" prevailed.

Representatives of the Spanish government, brought to the United States by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, have met the determined opposition of Catholic forces all over the United States. Their speakers have found halls barred to them at the instigation of Catholic priests and laymen. The ramifications of their powerful influence are illustrated by the following experience:

A citizens' committee, composed of representatives of business, the professions, labor and churches, headed by Arthur Wald, dean of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, rented the ballroom of the Harper House Hotel for a meeting at which a distinguished Spanish delegation was to speak. The rental of the hall was paid in advance, tickets were printed and placed on sale and advance publicity and advertising announced the meeting to the public. The press was generous in its coöperation, and Radio Station WHBF, owned by The Rock Island Argus, offered to broadcast without charge three five-minute talks on the Spanish situation, and arranged an interview over the radio with the delegation. But on the Sunday following the announcement of the meeting, the Catholic Bishop of Peoria delivered a sermon denouncing the meeting and condemned the Spanish government as communistic. Sermons in a similar vein were delivered from local Catholic pulpits, and The Catholic Messenger joined in the campaign against the delegation.

As an immediate result, the newspapers closed down on space. Radio Station WHBF canceled the remaining addresses, explaining that it had to do so because of protests. The contract for the ballroom of the Harper House was canceled. The citizens' committee then succeeded in obtaining the assembly room at the Hotel Fort Armstrong, only to have that contract also canceled the following day. With but one day left to get a hall, the committee turned to the Labor Temple. Arrangements were made for the use of the Temple through the Rock Island Bank and Trust Company, which held a mortgage on the building. Again the rental was paid in advance. The following morning, the day of the scheduled meeting, the bank withdrew its consent. It was almost noon before the committee found what proved to be its last stand—an old abandoned church, a small wooden structure in an advanced stage of disrepair, far from the center of town. It was owned by a Rock Island physician not amenable to Catholic Church pressure. The afternoon was devoted to cleaning up the hall and preparing it for the meeting. At six o'clock the committee was informed by the chief of police that the meeting had been forbidden by the mayor. Later, he revoked the order and the meeting proceeded. The Spanish delegation, however, declined to attend, declaring that they would not make a public appearance in a community showing such organized antagonism to the government they represented.

Here we see how far the pressure of Catholic action can be brought to bear effectively on various interests in American life. A Catholic bishop speaks, his priests echo his warning and immediately newspapers, a radio station, hotels, a bank and the police conform. The result limits a group of citizens from exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly, hinders the practical expression of sympathy in a humane cause and insults the representatives of a government friendly with the United States—to which, however, it happens that the Church is officially opposed.

Father O'Flanagan, the Irish Republican priest, who toured many states on behalf of Spanish refugee children, met with open hostility from Roman Catholic agents everywhere he went. In Milwaukee, the chairman of the Auditorium Board, William George Bruce, an outstanding Catholic who has had special honors

[1] This is the first of a series of five articles discussing the political role of the Catholic Church in this country today. — THE EDITORS

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from the Pope, denounced Father O'Flanagan's meeting as communistic, and the school board, 75 percent of whose members are also Catholic, forbade the use of the hall. The Catholic Herald-Citizen, official newspaper of Archbishop Streich, took up the fight, but representatives of the North American Committee at once instituted suit against the Board, which its counsel sought hard to quash, and won out when the court ruled that the hall could not be denied.

In Cincinnati, Father O'Flanagan was faced with the same opposition. Monsignor Frank Thill attacked both Father O'Flanagan and the North American Committee. He loudly protested against the many Protestant pastors and educators who had demanded that Father O'Flanagan be allowed the right of free speech: "That ministers of religion, professors and instructors of the University of Cincinnati and a Jewish writer in our daily press should unite with Communists and those of communistic tendencies, can only astonish all the restrained and informed citizens of our community."

Catholic opposition, accompanied by threats of violence which brought out the State Troopers, was again dramatically exhibited in the attempt to stop the Fiesta sponsored by the Rockland County, New York, Spanish Milk Fund, which had as patronesses Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Representative Caroline O'Day and members of the local artists' colony.

The hierarchy has carried on a ruthless campaign to destroy the religious sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, working with and through local officials to stop the dissemination of their "gospel message." Jehovah's Witnesses are not in good repute with other organized religions. Their tenets and preaching openly expose and condemn what they purport to be the abuse of religion by all the organized Christian churches—but especially the Roman Catholic Church. They claim, however, that they are not disorderly persons, nor defiers of the law; that they are Christians who use their time, energy and money to carry to the people the message of the Kingdom of God. Neither the Protestants nor Jews, likewise denounced in the sect's publications, have ever challenged the right of Jehovah's Witnesses to be "intolerant and offensive."

Within the past year, hundreds of their members have been thrown into prison at the instigation of the Catholic Church, convicted without evidence, sentenced without trial, mobbed and assaulted. In Pennsylvania, 440 have been arrested in various parts of the state while distributing their leaflets. At Monessen, 188 were imprisoned and their private school padlocked until the Court issued an injunction restraining the mayor and chief of police from interfering with it. Forty-four were arrested without warrant and thrown into prison at New Philadelphia. Thirty were incarcerated at Mauch Chunk, the police admitting that the Catholic clergy had demanded the arrests. At Locust Gap, a Catholic priest himself approached the Witness and ordered him out of town. At New Haven, New Britain, Bristol, Bridgeport, Plainville and other places in Connecticut more than 200 were apprehended under anti-free-speech laws and statutes.

On April 18, Louis Garloni, Divisional Servant of the Jehovah's Witnesses at Hartford, wrote to the mayors, chiefs of police and police judges in the state, enclosing a copy of the recent United States Supreme Court decision in the case of Alma Lovell v. the City of Griffin, Georgia, which held that interference with the distribution of printed matter containing information or opinion is a violation of free press. Mr. Garloni informed these public officials that his organization intended to visit their communities in the near future to distribute literature and requested that this right be recognized and protected. He further pointed out that:

> During the past ten years Jehovah's Witnesses have received much severe treatment at the hands of law-enforcement officials in a few states, including this one. Several thousands of them have been arrested and imprisoned. Many of them have been subjected to heavy prison sentences and fines. . . . This is religious persecution of God-fearing, upright men and women who are lawfully doing their duty in the public interest. *Most of such persecution has been instigated and promoted by religionists, largely Catholic priests and the principals of their flocks. The persecutors have used the police and the courts as their cat's-paws in a vain attempt to censor and prohibit and hinder dissemination of Bible truths which shock their religious susceptibilities.* . . . In the interest of law and order and preservation of constitutionally guaranteed rights, this medieval form of persecution should now cease.

As a result of this letter, Garloni was arrested, charged with the distribution of "offensive and abusive" literature and fined $25 and costs. The italics in the letter above are the "offensive and abusive" portions for which he was fined.

At Bristol, James P. Jennings, a member of the City Council, and Grand Knight Esmonde J. Phelan of the Palos Council of the Knights of Columbus filed a complaint against a book entitled "Enemies," distributed in large numbers by the Jehovah's Witnesses, claiming that it constituted an indecent attack upon the Catholic Church. Eleven members of the sect were arrested as a consequence and ordered to leave town.

Since last January, ninety-one members have been jailed at New Britain. Louis Garloni, state representative of the sect, did not participate in the distribution of literature, but when he called at the police station to arrange bail he was arrested as the "ringleader," fined $100 and sentenced to thirty days in jail.

When the Jehovah's Witnesses at Stratford, where five members had been jailed, challenged the police to prosecute the editors of The Catholic Transcript, published in Connecticut, for a vicious attack on the sect and its head, Judge Rutherford, the police declined

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to make any arrests. "America's ace bigot. . . . Everyone knows the infamous practices of Rutherford and his marauding band of Jehovah's Witnesses . . . the type of propaganda they hand out reeks with foul denunciations and falsehoods. . . ." These and similar statements in The Catholic Transcript (which was pinned up on the bulletin board of the public library) were objected to by the Jehovah's Witnesses as violations of the very statute applied against their members at the behest of the Church, but without result.

The role of the Catholic Church in the "Fascist Colony" of Jersey City is not yet fully appreciated. Throughout the recent free-speech controversy, Catholicism's support of the undemocratic regime of Mayor Hague, himself a prominent Catholic and intimate friend of Archbishop Walsh, has been evident. It requires more than a last-minute warning against Hagueism by Father Ryan in a speech in far-off Duluth to counteract the subversive conduct of the Church in Mayor Hague's bailiwick.

It was because the Catholic War Veterans objected to Norman Thomas' speaking in Journal Square on May 7 against Hague's denial of civil rights that Director of Public Safety Casey refused Mr. Thomas a permit. It was the Catholic War Veterans again, through the organization's state senior vice-president, Charles Brophy, who issued a threat to Representatives O'Connell and Bernard that "800 Catholic War Veterans would arm themselves with two-foot rubber hose, take the law into their own hands and drive them out. . . . I do not favor anyone taking the law into his hands but . . ." said Mr. Brophy, whose threat resulted in the calling off of the meeting.

It was Advisory Master John A. Matthews, Papal Chamberlain and Sovereign Knight of the Military Order of Malta, who scored those who "come into Catholic cities to spread ungodly doctrines." "You don't think, do you," he said, "despite what subsidized newspapers say, that Mr. Thomas, whoever he may be, was deprived of his constitutional right of free speech? . . . If you, Mr. Thomas, and your ilk want to come to de-Christianize Christianity, the great Catholic mass of New Jersey will ride you out."

It was the Reverend Matthew J. Toohey, at a dinner celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his elevation to the priesthood, who suggested that the gathering should form an "Association of the Godly which should be on the side of Frank Hague and be proud of it."

Seventy percent of Jersey City's population is Roman Catholic. Of the 190,000 church members there, 130,000 are Roman Catholics. In the newly created Archdiocese of Newark, Archbishop Walsh now controls 751,000 Catholics.

It is little wonder then that Mayor Hague was able to fill the Jersey City Armory to overflowing on January 3, for the whole Catholic population of the city was there, "pledged" to attend by their priests and lay leaders. The "support and loyalty" of every member of the Holy Name Societies of Jersey City was promised to Mayor Hague for his "firm and courageous stand against the enemies of religion and our American institutions" (see cut at bottom of this page).

In contrast to this stand of Catholicism's support of Mayor Hague's disregard of the rights of American citizens is the stand taken by Protestant Church groups. A resolution was adopted by clergymen and lay delegates to the sixty-fourth convention of the Newark diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church on May 11, condemning Mayor Hague for his "suppression of civil rights and individual liberty." The Newark Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church also adopted a report assailing Mayor Hague for the violation of the rights of free speech. It called for the opening of churches as meeting places for the banned organizations. The report further bared the fact that ministers "have feared to speak out in protest [against Hague's denial of civil rights] because of reprisals against their members."

A crop of Jersey Cities may well spring up in the land. Catholic majorities may build a fence around themselves and defy the defenders of American liberties as boldly as Mayor Hague and his followers have done. The fact must be faced that, for the present, Catholics as a group cannot be counted upon in any struggle against the forces of fascism in America.

LEO H. LEHMANN

HOLY NAME SOCIETY

January 3, 1938.

Representatives of the Communists and other Red, radical groups are attempting to invade Jersey City, behind the mask of a labor organization, and to obtain a foothold here. Mayor Frank Hague has taken a firm and courageous stand against these enemies of religion and our American institutions. All the people of Jersey City have been invited to attend a monster demonstration of loyalty to the Mayor at the Jersey City Armory, next Thursday evening, January 6th, 1938, at 8:30 o'clock, as an endorsement of Mayor Hague's attitude, and to pledge him their wholehearted support against the invasion of these Red groups.

We have promised him that every member of the Holy Name Societies will be present to give him assurance of their support and loyalty. As an American you have a vital interest in this question and it is your duty to attend this meeting. I ask that you do not fail to be present and that you remain until it is over, even if you do not obtain a seat in the Armory, as a pledge of your loyalty.

Fred J. Kropke ..... President

H. Peters ..... Holy Name Society

Busses will be stationed at the PARISH HALL at 7:45 P. M. to take you to the meeting, and will be ready at the Armory after the meeting to return you to your homes.

We Have Pledged Your Attendance—Do Not Fail Us.

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Six Errors of Marxism

MARXIANS have always bridled at any suggestion of revisionism. Eduard Bernstein was ostracized for demanding a streamlined Marxian theory in the eighteen-nineties, and every theorist who has followed him in the call for modernization has met a similar fate. Yet the fact is that Marxism, both as a theory and as a tactic, has been ever since its beginnings in process of continuous revision. The revisions have been dictated by events, by the theory in action; only they have not been called revisions because of the intense need for face-saving that is inseparable from politics. And although Marxism is a philosophy and philosophies are not supposed to behave politically, this one has been in politics with a vengeance.

Actually the Marxians today will admit to having made major errors of analysis since the Russian Revolution. Most of them will refuse to call them that, but errors of emphasis and calculation they are none the less. The drastic change in recent Communist tactics is an implied confession of them. My own reckoning, as I look back over the period, counts six such miscalculations. They are, of course, interlinked; but for purposes of discussion may be considered separately.

First, then, the underestimate of the strength of capitalism. Marxian theory, influenced by the immense prestige of Lenin after the revolution and by the fact that Lenin's thinking was largely shaped by the World War and the events preceding it, has thought of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. Out of it, presumably, grew widespread warfare, depression, revolution. The World War seemed to fulfil this analysis. Yet, as far as capitalism was concerned, the World War may have scotched the snake but did not kill it. Capitalism has shown an amazing tenacity since. That tenacity has taken a variety of shapes. In Germany and Italy and Spain, the capitalists joined forces with part of the middle class in a fascist counter-revolutionary offensive. Capitalism showed that, if it had itself lost the power of a governing class, it could govern by fascist deputy and govern with a ruthless tyranny. In England and France the capitalists used their financial power to sabotage the semi-socialist labor regimes. And while England turned to a Tory totalitarianism, France reverted to the petty-bourgeois tenacity of the Radical Socialists. In America, a New Deal administration, seeking to revive capitalism in spite of the capitalists, found their opposition stubborn and protracted. In every case the depression left the economic system down but not out, and apparently able to take more punishment if necessary.

The writers, liberals and conservatives alike, rubbed their eyes: had they been taken in all along by the Marxists? This thing called capitalism, said one, seems to have what it takes. Maybe it's all folklore, suggested another; attack and defense are just a play in our minds. America, capitalist or not, can be made a work of art, said a third. America can be saved within the capitalist framework, a fourth set out to prove. At present writing capitalism's stock is up. And the Marxians are not saying with any show of confidence that fascism is the last stage of capitalism.

Second, the overestimate of the revolutionary character of the proletariat. That there is in every country a proletarian vanguard that will fight for socialist aims, there can be no doubt. That a large number of the workers will defend themselves against attack has been shown in the resistance to the murderous Dollfuss coup in Austria in 1934 and in the resistance of the Spanish workers to Franco. But this is different from saying that the workers can in capitalist democracies be counted on to take the offensive in the overthrow of the capitalist regime and the establishment of socialism. Nor can they even be counted on to be neutral at the critical moment. What generally happens is that in the confusion of the struggle between Left and Right enough of the workers cling to the stereotypes of their time (which are stereotypes of the Right) to split the Left forces to a degree fatal to a revolutionary offensive.

This is in no sense to be interpreted as a confession of disillusionment in the common man. His closeness to the ribbed structure of life's daily needs often makes him more sensitive to realities and more unfooled than his financial and intellectual betters. But this homely and human sense of values has thus far not added up to revolutionary force. It was mainly because of the lack of revolutionary readiness in the proletariat that 1917 proved one of the turning-points in world history that did not turn.

Third, the underestimate of the strength of the middle class and the misreckoning of its direction. Marx had originally seen the middle class as crushed between the millstones of the capitalists and the workers, and as a dwindling group. Actually, the elaboration of capitalism has made it a growing group. Marx was right about the dwindling of the small entrepreneur and the tradesman; but the new middle class is that of the corporate bureaucracy, the white-collar workers and professionals, the army of the distributive occupations. Although many of these are, as Lewis Corey has pointed out, functionally tied to the workers, the conscious ties of the class as a whole are thus far with the class of property owners whose world they envy and whose career they think to emulate. Political movement to the Left fills them not with hope but with fear.

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They are not Prometheans, these middle-class people. Their horizons are provincial, their emotions starved, their patterns of daily living standardized. On them falls the great psychic burden of capitalism—its joyless amusements and its tinsel banality. When they feel insecure, they become frightened; when they grow frightened, they jump on the bandwagon of whatever seems strong and speaks for the *status quo;* and when they are on the bandwagon, once more secure in a collective sadism, they can be cruel with a cruelty that knows no bounds.

Fourth, the underestimate of the strength of the nationalist idea. This has been a weakness of Marxism since the beginning. It flows partly from the fact that the national concept seemed to run counter to the class concept, partly from the international framework of the revolutionary labor movement and the international character of a future socialist society, partly from a shrewd recognition that patriotism is always the last refuge of the oppressor. Thus the Marxians made the mistake of taking what is probably the most powerful emotional force in modern history and handing it over to the enemy. The Hitlers and Mussolinis did not lose a trick in exploiting their advantage. For the masses to have been less responsive to nationalist slogans would have meant to turn their backs on five centuries of European history. To reject or transcend one's country, as to reject or transcend one's family and circle of friends, can be done if you steel yourself to it, and you may even get a martyr's thrill from the process. But revolutions are made by going with, and not against, the strong emotional currents of the age.

In Soviet Russia the Marxians got a clue to their error. They discovered that the class concept and the nation concept could lie down side by side, and that while the workers ought not perhaps to have a fatherland, they were happier and a good deal more cohesive when they did. To change human nature does not mean to change human emotions; it means to change social institutions in such a way that the emotions are rechanneled.

Which brings us, fifthly, to the faulty theory of human nature in politics. Marxian psychology was archaic even when Marx wrote it; it was a metaphysician's psychology. It has grown even more archaic with the new insights offered by experimental psychology and by the psychoanalysts. Briefly, its error is to see men as too rational in their public conduct, and to assign to their public conduct too large an area of their lives. In a sense the Marxians are Ciceronians, writing a new "De Officiis." Actually, however, men's interest or attention-span on political or economic matters is shorter than we like to think. And when men do act in public affairs, they are as irrational as in their private lives—as insecure, fear-ridden, hunger-driven, hatred-obsessed, animal-like. These reaches of what Freud has called "depth pyschology" the fascists, for all their abuse of the *Kulturbolschevismus* of Freudianism, have understood and exploited. The Marxians are only now beginning to catch up.

Finally, the misreckoning on proletarian dictatorship. The complete and ruthless power, even though temporarily, of the proletariat in its march toward a classless state is a root-idea of Marxism. But the question arises, how long this dictatorship will last, and what form it will take. From the past decade of Soviet history we have begun to understand that political power may have its inner structure and its life history fully as much as economic power; that the problems of group conflict and tyranny are not automatically solved when the means of production are socialized; and that the need for a proletarian dictatorship must be minimized, its time-span shortened, and channels found for the expression of political opposition in the socialist states of the future.

We have erred, the Marxians may say, on all these counts. "But," they may add, "our heads are bloody but unbowed. It is not only we who have made mistakes. True, we have misjudged trends and allowed our thinking to follow the outlines of our desires. But you, too, have failed; you statesmen who have blindly sought to direct state policy; you progressives who have never seen beyond the immediate moment; you liberals who have been sunshine patriots but have in the crisis betrayed your own liberal ideals. If we have failed, our failure is but part of the failure of the whole progressive tradition of Western thought."

Their plea in avoidance must be accepted along with their confession. What remains is to note that the errors I have discussed by no means invalidate Marxian thought. Primarily they are errors in emphasis and calculation, rather than in the basic method of analysis. Marxism in its subtler moods understands that capitalism is tenacious, men irrational, the middle class insecure, the workers still held in the grip of middle-class ideas. While Marxism in action has not understood these things sufficiently, Marxism as a method of analysis does not by that fact lose its validity. Capitalism still shows its essential contradictions. If it will take a more supple and subtle economic theory to explain them, Marxism has at least pointed the direction. Its great strength lies in its theory of history, its method of class analysis, its well knit interrelation of the aspects of society, its sense of direction, its insistence on the unbroken web of theory and practice. It is still, for all its shortcomings, the most useful and illuminating body of social thought in our world.

But it is in no sense a completed body of thought. The technique of social change is as much a process of invention and correction as is that of technological change. The great inventions still lie in the future. The great theories have yet to be formulated.

MAX LERNER

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No Pay Cuts for the Railroads

Now that the President's fact-finding board has decided that the railroads of the United States have no justification in asking their workers to accept a 15-percent wage cut, the railroad problem reverts to where it was last June, when conferences on the proposed pay cut were initiated. Even had the cut been granted, it would not have been any lasting solution of the railroads' difficulties. The carriers have not been suffering from paying too much out; they have been suffering from taking too little in. Even their favorite citation—about having lost $182,000,000 during the first six months of 1938—has become out of date, since in the past three months the operating revenues of many roads were almost if not quite as good as in the third quarter of 1937. The railroads are not in good financial condition, but neither are they so nearly bankrupt as they like to pretend.

The existence of a railroad problem does not demonstrate that wage cutting is the only solution, or even any solution of it. The railroads are suffering chiefly from the fact that their credit is no longer good. For nearly ten years they have been virtually unable to sell any new bond issues. Not only have they been unable to borrow new money, but they have been unable to refinance existing debts by selling new bonds when old issues came due. For an industry which plans to live on a basis of perpetual debt—some of the railroad bonds now outstanding do not mature until the year 2037—the inability to pay one debt by incurring another is certainly serious. If sufficiently prolonged, it will be fatal. But it is nothing that lower wages will correct. The credit of the railroads is bad because their incomes are low. But the savings that they would realize through wage cuts could not possibly be enough to restore their impaired credit. Even the 15-percent cut, which was an "asking" figure set far beyond any reduction that the railroads expected the men to accept or the government to recommend, would reduce total operating expenses by only about 7 percent.[1] Many roads, even at present traffic levels, would require pay cuts of 50 percent or more in order to become good credit risks.

The Baltimore and Ohio, which was chartered in 1827 and ran its first train in 1831, is a good example of a railroad that is facing a crisis which no amount of pay-cutting will relieve. The B&O has a funded debt of $667,000,000 and fixed charges of $32,000,000 a year. For the first six months of 1938, it failed to meet its fixed charges by $11,600,000. And the B&O is in such a bad way that even improved conditions in the present six months will still leave it with a large deficit for the year. But the B&O is more worried about bond maturities than about bond interest.

No less than $185,000,000 of its notes and bonds will come due in the next four years. These early maturities include a $50,000,000 issue of B&O 4½-percent notes due August 1, 1939. This maturity is only ten months in the future. Imagine a railroad which cannot now pay even the interest on its debts but which has $50,000,000 of the principal due within a year. Imagine also the futility of trying to correct this situation through wage cuts. And remember that this is only one of the many B&O issues that will soon mature. There is also a $64,000,000 issue of 4-percent bonds due in 1941. And there is about $72,000,000 of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation coming due between now and 1942. Even if the country should suddenly burst with prosperity, not more than a fraction of these maturities could possibly be met.

The 1937 payroll of the Baltimore and Ohio was about $70,000,000. A 15-percent pay cut would save a little more than $10,000,000 a year. Inasmuch as the railroad is not now meeting even the interest on its bonds, sacrificing the payroll would still leave it far short of settling its maturities. Even the B&O itself has no illusions in this respect. For in a recently announced plan for handling its early maturities, it proposed to extend the period over which the bonds would become due, and in the meantime to reduce the interest paid on them. And it asked for these alterations in its debt structure regardless of whatever savings it might realize by cutting the pay of its men.

I cannot here go into details of the B&O plan. The gist of it is to postpone the maturity of the $50,000,000 notes and of the RFC loans by five years, and of the $64,000,000 bond issue by ten years. Also to pay only one-percent interest on a guaranteed basis, the remaining interest to be paid only if it is earned. These arrangements (not yet approved by the bondholders) would give the B&O a little breathing space on its maturities and reduce fixed charges from $32,000,000 to $19,000,000 a year. The significant point, however, is that the B&O plan is not dependent upon wages and is not affected by the outcome of the recent wage dispute. Faced with an almost immediate crisis, forced to deal realistically with its debt problem, the B&O stopped talking to the public about its wages and began talking to its bondholders about their bonds. And that is the kind of conversation to which many other railroads will soon be driven.

In speaking of railroad debts that will soon come due, I do not want to obscure the more commonly realized problem of debts which do not mature for a

[1] Wages are about 45 percent of total operating expenses.

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long time, but which remain a burden to the railroads because of their annual interest charges. The railroads have outstanding well over $11,000,000,000 of funded debt on which they pay (or should pay) interest of about $580,000,000 a year. About 30 percent of this debt is now owed by railroads which are in receivership, bankruptcy or reorganization of some form. Yet the railroads have only themselves to blame for their predicament.

In 1920, the funded debt of the railroads was $10,200,000,000, with interest charges of about $500,000,000 per annum. From 1920 (when the roads were released from government operation) through 1931 (when their funded debt reached an all-time peak) the railroads, as a whole, enjoyed high and consistent profits. In fact, their average net income (after deduction of bond interest and all other charges) was about $550,000,000 a year for each of these twelve years. For the entire period, they made about $6,745,000,000. But they did not use one penny of this profit to reduce their funded debt. They paid about $450,000,000 a year in dividends; added about $100,000,000 a year to surplus and had nothing left with which to pay off their bonds.

They were indeed busy with increasing their debt, not with lowering it. At the end of 1931 their funded debt stood at $11,800,000,000; their interest charges had risen to nearly $600,000,000 a year. During their prosperous years, they increased their funded debt by 16 percent and their annual interest by about 18 percent. They were not building new railroads with their new borrowings, for they had operated 252,000 miles of track in 1920 against 249,000 in 1930. But they spent hundreds of millions of dollars in buying up one another's stocks in pursuit of "consolidation" schemes that got nowhere or that resulted in flimsy "railroad empires" such as the Van Sweringens put together and the depression took apart. Just lately, for instance, the Nickel Plate (Chicago, New York and St. Louis) defaulted on a $14,800,000 bond issue. The Nickel Plate was the original Van Sweringen line and the bonds were issued with the express purpose of enabling the Vans to acquire a majority interest in the Wheeling and Lake Erie and thus add the latter road to their "empire." The present receivership of the New Haven resulted largely from expenditures made in acquiring control of the Rutland (in receivership), the New York, Ontario and Western (in bankruptcy) and the New York, Westchester and Boston (out of business altogether). Yet the railroad worker has been asked to pay for the speculative jamboree of boomtime days.

It should also be noticed that during the depression the railroads have already cut their wages to a very marked degree. They claim that they are still paying 1929 wages, and so, in terms of *wage rates per hour*, they are. But this figure must always be considered in relationship to the total dollar payroll and to the number of men employed. During the prosperity period the dollar payroll of the carriers was stabilized at a little under $3,000,000,000 a year, although even in the twenties the number of men employed was going steadily down.[1] After 1929, however, the decline in both men and dollars was precipitate indeed, and even in the recovery period only a very small portion of lost ground was regained. The following table shows, in round numbers, the decline of the dollar payroll since 1929:

Year	*Payroll*
1929	$2,900,000,000
1931	2,100,000,000
1933	1,400,000,000
1935	1,600,000,000
1937	1,800,000,000

The number of men employed fell to 990,000 in 1933 and is somewhat below 1,100,000 today. Since 1929, the railroads have dropped about $1,000,000,000 and about 700,000 men from their payrolls. This is the real measure of what the railroads have saved and what the railroad workers have lost. Had the proposed 15-percent pay cut been granted, the dollar wages would have been back almost to their 1933 low.

It is true that the roads threatened even more firings if the pay cut did not go through. If the roads were now no busier than they were last spring, they could undoubtedly make further large reductions in their already reduced staffs. But business has already recovered sharply from these levels, and it is difficult to see how the roads can handle increased traffic with even fewer men.

If further wage cuts could put the railroads back on their feet, they might be accepted as a drastic but necessary cure. But whittling away at the men's wages does not do the railroads any lasting good. Another cut might enable a few of them to meet interest payments which they would otherwise default.[2] But a revival in business, with its consequent increase in railroad revenue and profit is the only development by which railroad credit can be restored. Wage cutting will not restore the earning power of railroads. It will not resurrect their ability to issue bonds. Either better business will lift the railroad income to the point at which lower wages are not necessary, or renewed depression will lower railroad income to the point at which lower wages will do no good. It is from high finance, not high wages, that the railroads are suffering today.

E. D. KENNEDY

[1] From 1,900,000 in 1923 to 1,700,000 in 1929.

[2] There are prosperous roads which meet their interest charges at all times and roads so bogged down that they will have deficits under almost any conditions. I do not remember when the Norfolk and Western has failed to pay dividends or when the Milwaukee has succeeded. But only a few roads are border-line cases, curable by cutting wages.

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New England Secession

"I WILL GO TO LAW IF NECESSARY and I hope the situation will not reach a point where I will have to call out the national guard." Thus spoke Governor Murphy of New Hampshire on October 4, attacking the efforts of the federal government to give New England flood protection in compliance with a law passed by Congress last June. Governor Aiken of Vermont joined the challenge that states' rights must not be trampled on by the government. New England threatened secession in 1814 on the issue of trade; it is threatening secession in 1938 on the issue of power. In the process it is putting on an extraordinary performance of blandly ignoring established federal law which took away the very "rights" it is now "defending against federal invasion," the authority of a state to dispose of its power resources as it wishes.

For long New England has been clamoring for flood control. In June, 1936, Congress approved a law giving federal aid for a New England flood-control program and authorizing interstate compacts for the allocation of the local costs of such a program. Early in the summer of 1937, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont and New Hampshire—after consultation with the army engineers for whom soon thereafter President Roosevelt designated a new chief—submitted for congressional approval compacts for the Connecticut and Merrimack River valleys. The compacts transgressed the 1936 flood-control act by inclusion of power provisions. More important, they violated the federal water-power law of 1920 by giving the states a 999-year veto authority over production and use of power from the proposed dams; there was no assurance that the benefits of power ever would be utilized or, if they were, that the federal government, if Congress desired, would be given the first opportunity to develop or that states and cities would have preference over private companies.

Senators La Follette (Progressive, Wis.) and Minton (Democrat, Ind.) termed the pacts "the most far-reaching attack yet made on the federal water-power act." It was subsequently disclosed that three private utility experts had been influential in drawing up the compacts, Henry I. Harriman of Massachusetts, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and founder and director of the big New England Power Association, Attorney Robert W. Upton of New Hampshire, for years counsel for interests of the Associated Gas and Electric system, and Attorney Walter S. Fenton of Vermont, whose list of clients has included both Insull and Harriman companies. Mr. Harriman participated in the preliminary work, while Messrs. Fenton and Upton were official interstate commissioners for the final drafting, the latter at that very moment being registered in New Hampshire as legislative lobbyist for five power companies.

President Roosevelt, on August 6, 1937, in a letter to Governor Cross of Connecticut, pointed out that the compacts ran contrary to federal law and made it plain that he opposed them. At the same time he emphasized that New England could obtain its flood control quickly if the pacts were modified to comply with law. In the face of this situation all the New England Governors, practically every state official, more than 95 percent of the newspapers and a good majority of the New England members of Congress insisted on congressional ratification of the compacts as drawn and denounced the government for invading states' rights to seize natural resources. Generalities filled the air. Not once, in all the debates, hearings and conferences, did the pro-compact spokesmen indulge in study of the 1920 power act in connection with the pacts. Not once did the Governors make a move to amend the pacts. They insisted that there is no power at the proposed dam sites, but failed to explain, if this be true, why they clung so tenaciously to the power provisions in the compacts. The president of the New England Council, containing industrial, banking and utility leaders of the region, significantly announced that although "we" want flood control "we place an even higher value upon the preservation of all our existing rights over water resources."

Congress of course did not ratify the pacts, and last June voted an act that rendered interstate compacts unnecessary by requiring the federal government to pay all New England dam-and-reservoir flood-control costs and to hold title to all the projects. It is the latter provision—which is both logical and necessary, since under the 1920 law the New England dams, whether the government pays for them in whole or in part, are defined as government dams—that frightens the private utility people.

The New England hurricane intensified the fight. Although they opposed passage of the 1938 law and although under it no New England dam could have been completed short of a year or more, Governor Aiken, Senator Bridges (Republican) of New Hampshire and others blamed government "delay" for part of the disaster entailed by the New England hurricane and flood this fall. Some New England newspapers immediately termed it the "Roosevelt flood of 1938." New England's delay in refusing to submit compacts that were legal got no attention.

It was in this heated situation that President Roosevelt last month, at the urging of Senator Brown (Democrat) of New Hampshire and other flood-control advocates, announced $11,000,000 immediately available for acquisition of land and construction under the act of last June. The New England secession hint was the prompt reaction. The future will tell how far New England will go on this astonishing junket of its own, which brings joy to the hearts of the nation's private utility interests. BULKLEY GRIFFIN

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Shoot the Works

Inside the Ropes

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISTS cannot afford to indulge themselves in the luxury of isolation. They stand to lose more by fascism than any other group in this country. It is evident by now that many Americans who assert their fidelity to democracy are actually putting a saving bet for place on fascism as the next best thing. They think that here it might be much modified in form and that it might not be particularly punishing to the group they belong to.

But trade unionists should have no such illusions. The first objective of fascism in any form is to smash the labor movement. There are superficial differences between the set-up established by Hitler, by Mussolini and by Franco in the territory which each occupies. But the policy toward unions has been precisely the same. It must be evident then that peace along the American labor front should be established immediately. Delay may be fatal, not to one organization or another, but to present gains and future hopes. In fact peace is most important of all to the unorganized.

Many Americans fear the phrase "collective security" because it suggests to them a pact for war. And they have every right to object to alliances, however shadowy, with democracies which at the moment seem halfway persuaded to go over to the other side. But collective security could be built upon a much sounder basis and without recourse to armed conflict. It the trade unionists of the world were to solidify their ranks in international convention, they could establish material as well as spiritual barriers against the spread of fascism. Such an alliance has been talked of often, but it remains impractical because labor cannot seek unity with the trade unionists of other lands until it is itself unified.

Now is the time for unity. Both the domestic situation and the international situation demand it. No sweeter ammunition can be handed to Fascist dictators in their fight against labor than the evidence of strife within the ranks of the trade unions. Some of the bitterest things said about labor have been uttered by labor leaders. But I stress the word unity rather than peace. No fusion can be built upon a complete surrender of principles by any group or party concerned. In many of the issues both sides can't be right. One theory must be sound and the other fallacious. Such things must and should be fought out. But these disputes belong within the ropes. The battle ought not to be fought up and down the aisles and carried outside into the market place. The ring should be big enough for both contestants.

In other words, agreement between the CIO and the A. F. of L. will not work unless it makes provision for a mechanism that will permit disagreement. This is not a time to hack away at old wounds, but I do not want to give the impression of supporting the argument of William Green that the proponents of industrial organization should have remained within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and submitted to "the democratic judgment" of the majority. No A. F. of L. convention in recent years has approximated a democratic set-up. And so I think that all hands should sit down around a council table to arrange a new framework broad enough for both assenters and dissenters. There could be a constitutional convention quite like that of the states which met after the American Revolution.

And in the structure to be worked out certain compromises as to the mechanism of government would be essential. There would be the age-old dispute about centralization and autonomy. Some provision of states' rights would be essential to win over the small craft unions. But throughout, the effort should be to guarantee the democratic rights of the individual union member. For instance, the Constitution of Labor should make it mandatory for every union to hold regular conventions annually, or at least every two years, at which officers would be chosen by delegates elected according to the strictest democratic processes.

It is idle to deny that trade unionism knows its rotten boroughs. Once every trade-union member is assured of the fundamental democracy of the great union to which he belongs it will not only be proper but essential to have differences aired and debated. I am far from believing that the present split has served no good purpose. I am utterly opposed to its being continued, but I think that the quarrel even in its most violent manifestations has had great educational value. It has dramatized the whole problem of the industrial union as opposed to the craft union. A few years ago hardly one out of every hundred Americans knew the difference between the horizontal and the vertical union. It is quite true that in addition to spreading information the conflict between the CIO and the A. F. of L. has been used by many publicists to create confusion. And still I say that the new publicity has served an excellent end.

Decisions arrived at in little smoke-filled rooms are no better for labor than they are for political parties. The issues to be decided at conventions are of public interest and the public has a right to be informed. In cases of strikes and lock-outs one can hardly expect working leaders to discuss strategy in the middle of Main Street, but I trust that the day of executive session is forever gone in the matter of debate on large problems of policy. Certainly the unorganized will hardly be willing to sit outside of locked doors. They have a right not only to hear but to be heard when their problems are under discussion.

It has been a proud and a very empty boast on the part of certain leaders that in some vexed question or other "the convention was unanimous." I am impressed by mandates which go out with the tally of 592 to 97 or something like that, but when everybody votes on the same side I always fear that there has been some deficiency in the representation. Naturally one expects every member of a trade union to be for the success of his union, but there will always be difference of opinion as to how that success is to be obtained. There may even be need of a definition of "success" itself.

American democracy has vital need of a strong and stalwart trade-union movement, because that will always be the first and also the last line of defense against fascism. But in defending democracy trade unionism must make itself utterly democratic in its own processes. That doesn't mean the ending of disagreement. On the contrary, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Green should continue to thunder against each other, because in that way they will clarify the issue between fundamental principles of labor organization. Things can go on as at present, but with one important change. They should both be speaking in the same hall. HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

X-Ray of Business

NOW THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE OVER, the Temporary National Economic Committee—the monopoly investigation—is expected to drive forward. The first public hearings, scheduled to start in a few days, will be devoted to the question of exclusive private ownership of patents. The specimen in the test tube will be the glass industry, and particularly the giant Owens-Illinois company. One of the favorite excuses for the high price of milk given by the dairy industry—which itself is to be investigated—is that the citizenry smashes up expensive milk bottles. As a by-product of the hearings, we may learn why bottles cost so much.

After patents, the TNEC is expected to take up industrial control by bankers, or small groups of "insiders." In part, this is the familiar holding-company question, which, in the case of the power companies, caused one of the greatest fights, and greatest victories, of the Roosevelt administration. It is understood that the TNEC's guinea pig here will be the shattered Van Sweringen railroad empire, now being fought over by a New York bank and a stockholders' group. The inquiry will ask why, if holding companies are bad in the utility industry, they are not also bad elsewhere.

With its first open hearings, the TNEC will run head-on into its most perplexing problem, which is how to be both scientific and political at once. The TNEC has promised "no witch hunt," but, if important shifts are to be made in the structure of American business, public sentiment will need to be raised to white heat. This had to be done before the SEC, or any other great reform of the Roosevelt administration, could be enacted. Yet no scientist can be expected to operate a microscope dressed in asbestos clothes and wielding fire-tongs. How to do a sound research job and simultaneously to stir up the voters is a riddle of democracy.

Among experts here, there is a feeling of discouragement about the railroads. There will be no wage reduction, no strike, and—the experts think—no real grappling with the problem, either. The utmost that is hoped for is financial reorganization of some of the lines now in bankruptcy. The administration's talk about a revision of railroad rates in the South and West, which now place these two regions under great competitive handicaps, has a pretty preëlection sound, but will not happen while the potent New York and Pennsylvania delegations in the House are able to speak and vote.

One approach to the railroad problem would be government ownership, at least of the weaker lines. At the moment, the administration has the most favorable chance to make a beginning towards government ownership—because of the relative cheapness of railroad securities—that it has had since 1933. Against this are two pronouncements by Mr. Roosevelt that government ownership should not be considered except as a last, desperate measure. The railroad unions have committed themselves to government ownership by solemn referendum, but their spokesman, Mr. George M. Harrison, has failed to push for it.

Another approach to the problem is to bring down railroad rates—and with them, costs of operation—to a point where the industry can offer better, cheaper service than passenger cars, buses, trucks and water-borne carriers. Administration experts regard ICC Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman as the great master of their trade. They say that he knows how to do it. He has plans for improvements and economies in a thousand detailed places. Necessarily, however, his program is technical, hard to explain to Congress and almost impossible to popularize among the voters.

The most regrettable part of the whole situation, however, is the failure of the administration advisers and the brotherhoods to agree on a common solution. Observers say that Mr. Harrison is convinced, justifiedly, that the crux of the problem is a reduction of the railroads' fixed charges. The administration advisers recognize the need for capital adjustments, but also want changes in the union rules surrounding hours and conditions of work. Mr. Harrison and the brotherhood leaders, again with great justification, are reluctant to see these rules weakened. Yet the differences between the administration and the brotherhoods are more of emphasis than of principle, and can be reconciled.

The writer hoped that the administration's talk about the need of our protecting Latin America from Fascist aggression was for election purposes only, and that we would hear no more about it. Apparently it is to be used to justify an extra $100,000,000 for naval building. In a brief survey of military and naval opinion here, the writer found no one who did not regard it as civilian nonsense. It was pointed out that neither Germany nor Italy, at the present time, has a "sea-going" navy. A majority of the German and Italian ships are designed for the Baltic, North and Mediterranean Seas, and would be valueless at long distances from their bases. It is also pointed out that neither country could undertake the tremendous effort that a serious military campaign in South America would entail. Most military historians think that the adventure of Napoleon the Third in Mexico gave Prussia her chance of victory in 1870. If either Germany or Italy became heavily involved in South America it would be likely to mean the loss of her military position in Europe. The practicability of a Japanese attack on South America's West Coast is even less. The Japanese line of communications would be wholly at the mercy of our Pacific fleet, based on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, which our experts say is the strongest fortress in the world.

A number of army officers spoke of the program of Lieutenant-General Douglas MacArthur for the defense of the Philippines. If he can have a few more years in which to train his Filipino *guardia*, he is said to guarantee that he can hold the islands against the full force of Japanese attack. As his theories were explained to the writer, the big guns of a fleet and the bombs of war planes can inflict inestimable damage to civilian property, but they are ineffective against even relatively simple shore defenses. The failure of the British fleet, in the World War, to open up the Dardanelles is cited as proof. General MacArthur believes that well trained infantry, armed with light, modern weapons, can beat off any possible landing party. To a layman, the technical arguments of General MacArthur's disciples seem wholly convincing. If the Roosevelt administration were really concerned to make South America safe

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against Fascist attack, it would offer them military advisers trained by General MacArthur. South America could be rendered impregnable without cost to this country, and—perhaps most interesting—their troops would be trained to repel landing parties of American Marines as well as German Nazis and Italian Fascists. T. R. B.

Washington

Other People's Money

Further House Cleaning for the Exchange

IN THE NEW REPUBLIC OF JULY 13, I attempted an outline of the stages by which Richard Whitney had moved from default to default and from artifice to artifice to conceal the fatal borrowings which plunged him at last, and his Exchange, into so much trouble. It is gratifying now to find the Securities and Exchange Commission in its report on Whitney's dealings confirming in every way that account. It is even more gratifying to find the Commission insisting on a group of reforms, the most important of which have been persistently pressed in this column for years.

The most significant conclusions of the Commission's report were (1) that the Exchange was so clumsily organized that a leading member, chairman of the Business Conduct Committee, governor and finally president of the Exchange, could during twelve years carry on a long series of criminal activities without being detected; (2) that when he was detected many officers of the Exchange concealed from the Exchange the facts about Whitney's offenses; (3) that this whole episode had its origins in the baleful practice of members acting as speculators and underwriters while also functioning as brokers and holding in trust the funds and securities of customers.

The most important item among these three, of course, is the last. One of the most baffling of human phenomena is the stubbornness with which men refuse to recognize the established lessons of civilized life. In no business which asks for the respect of business men would any person be permitted to perform two hostile functions at the same time. No man can successfully represent habitually the contending parties in any series of transactions. Also the business world knows that no man who handles the funds of other people can be permitted to engage in gambling operations on his own account. The bank cashier, the store cashier, the confidential custodian of funds anywhere who frequented the races or the gambling table would be promptly either stopped or dismissed by his superiors. These canons of conduct are not new. Yet not only have stock brokers violated these two sound principles of conduct persistently and with official approval, but this violation has become almost the cornerstone of their prosperity and the violators were the men who dominated the Exchange and made the rules of the market place.

Now the Securities and Exchange Commission has called on the Exchange to institute a new series of rules, and among these is one that will prohibit any one acting as a broker from buying and selling stocks for his own account on margin. This is a part—and one of the most important parts—of the principle of segregation, which in this column I have insisted upon, perhaps to the point of boredom.

No man who acts as the agent of security buyers should be permitted to speculate in stocks for his own account. For years the Exchange has bitterly fought that proposal. For years it has been able to hire college professors and others to invent and sponsor for it rationalization of this practice. For years the newspapers which act as the apologists for the Exchange have taken a superior tone of defense of this thoroughly dishonest system. But now the Commission goes a long way toward solving it by forbidding margin transactions to members or their partners in their personal trading. And oddly, the newspapers seem to chime in with approval, as if they had not for years aided and encouraged the bad methods the new rule is designed to kill.

When the SEC act was passed I tried to get into its provisions a prohibition of this practice. But the lobbyists of the Exchange and the Treasury Department were strong enough to take it out. When the SEC was organized, the first subject pressed on it for attention was this matter of segregation. After a difficult struggle, Kemper Simpson, economist of the Commission, and Willis Ballinger, assistant to the economist, got the authority to make that study. But they were given no money—about $300 for expenses—while the reorganization and investment-trust studies were given many thousands, and very properly so. The man who most persistently hampered the study was James Landis, first a member and then chairman of the Commission. When finally Simpson and Ballinger, despite their crippled resources, did report strongly against the combining of broker and speculator functions, the report was kept under cover for a time while the subject was handed to another group of Wall Street and Landis stooges who went to work on it and brought in a milk-and-water report of their own which said little and did nothing. It was not until Landis was out of that Commission that Douglas, the new chairman, took the study up in earnest. And Simpson and Ballinger were literally hounded out of the Commission because they had committed the offense of fighting the very thing that made Whitney possible, which the Commission now denounces with everyone's approval.

If Thomas Lamont was guilty of unethical conduct because he kept quiet about Whitney's behavior, if George Whitney is to be denounced because he failed to squeal on his brother, if the Exchange is to be castigated because it did nothing to bring Whitney more quickly to justice, then what shall we say of the SEC itself under the regimes of Joe Kennedy and Jim Landis, which, with far less human compulsion for its conduct, sat silent and idle for nearly three years when it knew that for decades many brokers had been doing the things that Whitney did, and not only took no steps to check it but actually punished the men who tried to do so.

Much has been done to clean house by the Commission since William O. Douglas became its chairman and by the Exchange under William McC. Martin Jr. and his colleagues. The new rules will go a long way to advance this. But there is one proposal being debated on the Exchange now which, if it passes, will put an end in time to all these reforms. That is the plan to permit stock-exchange firms to incorporate. It is to be hoped the SEC will oppose that with all its power. JOHN T. FLYNN

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Characters

MR. EVANS' PRODUCTION OF "HAMLET" brings up the question of the two points from which we may approach an estimate of the social morality, the ethics, and the whole scale of attributes, of the characters in Shakespeare. We may regard them as within the conception of the epoch they belong to, or rather that their creator belongs to (or to some extent at least tries to put them into). The characters —in "Hamlet," for example—we then judge as they would judge each other. Or we may regard them within wider conceptions that seem to be more or less free of time and universally human. The extensive philosophic scope of that approach usually narrows down to what we ourselves in our own day admire and think right.

If this item I set out to propose seems obvious, the application of it by scholars and—more loosely or simply, perhaps—by directors and actors, to Shakespeare has not been obvious. To come to our mutton then. We have the case of the characters in "Hamlet" as seen in relation to the Renaissance. Not rarely in the course of Miss Margaret Webster's directing of the play there were evidences of this problem working in her mind. The actor may have been able to carry out only a part of her intention, but still you could see she had had it. The absence, among critics, scholars, editors, and so on, of just this sophistication in culture, as it were, has brought on enough profundity, analysis, high-horsing, academics, sentiment and preaching to fill out many a lecture and cover thousands of commentary pages. In the last century especially this kind of romantic, often pious, and as often garrulous, innerness among the commentators on Shakespeare was abounding; great quantities of it still survive in the annotated editions that students and general researchers use. The relation of Horatio to the classic role of the hero's confidant, or of Polonius to the classic Nestors and wise men (with whom it was recognized that whatever was admirable and whatever not so in them belonged as much to the classic or Renaissance model as it did to themselves) could be discussed, and likewise divers other characters; but the King and Queen will serve well enough. We will go into some of the judgments on them. I am aware, meanwhile, of the way given commentaries may ride their given slant far too exclusively; as for myself I mean to do no such thing, and do admit the benefits in insight, depth and shading that much of such criticism afforded; my point here concerns all the going around and around the matter, all the waste, all those tailfeathers of scholarly analysis, supersubtle psychological elucidations, not to mention the simplicities at times, and the too nearly universal innocence of what the theatre is as distinguished from the printed page.

Herder, Johnson, Goethe, Schlegel, Tieck, Lewes, Coleridge—these famous names are nothing like a tenth of those who have turned their batteries on Claudius the King, and Gertrude the Queen, with results, naturally, differing in significance. The King has his powers, advantages and faults, with always the twin crimes of murder and usurpation. The Queen by some accounts is granted one redeeming trait: her love for her son. To that others add her love for Ophelia. Some consider her accessory to her husband's murder (which the First Quarto expressly says she is not, and concerning which the eleven passages from the later and authoritative text that have been cited to prove her complicity have been shown to be pointless). And all rank her as the weakest character in the play.

It would seem to me so much sounder and more economical a procedure if we began with each of these two characters as of the period in the Renaissance when they were created and where the perspective lies in which they were meant to be seen. Then the King would begin by being another Sforza, or Gonzaga, or some one of the *condottieri*, captains who rose to be the heads of states and dynasties. Everything about him lies within their scope, and within their range all his qualities and actions are measured. The Queen in general takes the plane assigned to women by the Renaissance: she follows her lord men, the first husband, the present husband, the son; she loves them, and loves Ophelia as part of her son's future. When such a line has been taken, we may consider a character and its period from any point of view we choose, and in judging one judge both, the character and the Renaissance conception.

The usual comment and interpretation expended on the Shakespeare characters, however, takes the other approach, as you may constantly see in books and in discussions of the roles. It would doubtless be argued that to do this is to consider the role from the human angle, which, you may well say, is after all the final test and application of it. But that is only partially true. The sound method is not to interpret the character on our modern basis or in our modern terms, but to restate in our modern terms its original meaning, to restate in the terms of our epoch the meaning that, in the terms of its own epoch, was intended for the character. Otherwise the profundities of great—if not theatre—scholars may have something about them that suggests that this is the first night, as it were, of one or another attribute discovered in the character. It is as if, to put the case another way, in a drama from somewhere in Central Asia we took the matriarch who is the heroine and judged her polyandry as if she were a lady in our block, New York City or New Jersey, with several husbands. In that case, obviously, the final judgment is upon polyandry as well as upon the heroine, and our procedure takes place in, as it were, a historical vacuum.

When it comes to today's dramatic criticism and the restatement in our terms of the original meaning, or quality, in terms of the epoch involved, we could scarcely find a better example than in Mr. John Mason Brown's brilliant article on " 'L'Aiglon' and Miss Le Gallienne"—as various others among these essays—in the collection[1] just out. In such an article the richly charged phrases convey the tone and character that within its own epoch Rostand intended his play to have, but at the same time we are made aware of the transformations that have gone on with time, changes from French into English, France to America, and of the problems, ever renewed, of production.

The special point of this note on some of the "Hamlet" characters, our approach to them or commentary, is, then, to repeat, that we should not begin with an interpretation or comment that would seem to concern an isolated case, but with the best interpretation we can make of the original

[1] Two on the Aisle: Ten Years of the American Theatre in Performance, by John Mason Brown. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 321 pages. $2.75.

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meaning and values, restate that, and in the restatement include our final and full interpretation. At least 75 percent of the endless mass of commentary on Hamlet himself might lead you to infer that there was no difference between this milieu and the milieu of the commentator. STARK YOUNG

Better Late . . .

IT SEEMS that the first-rate picture we have been waiting and grumbling for has dropped in at the last minute. "The Citadel" was made in England, out of an English novel and with mostly English actors; but it was made by MGM and under the direction of King Vidor, one of our best. From the nature of its material, it has something to say; and since the material is not something out of the safe past but contemporary, it has twice as much bang as, say, "Pasteur"—and what is more, is a good picture.

Mr. Cronin's novel got around quite widely, and so there will be the usual amount of question and quibble and pouncing on trivia, all with that combination of reader's nostalgia and detective's triumph which has so little to do with the appreciation of this or any other art. At any rate, the sense and even the passion of the book are brought out intact, the main characters faithfully translated; and where there has been a shift of emphasis or plot situation there has been no hankypank but only the need to make a point with the sharpened focus demanded by the theatre. Ivory's bungling operation is made to result in the killing of Denny, the good friend, Denny having also served in Christine's place in the accident; and the story ends on Dr. Manson's address at his disbarment hearing—all of which seems a very shrewd and happy telescoping of material that sprawled too much in the book itself. It would have been more poignant if Chris had died, but that would have required a shift of emphasis from the general to the personal throughout, and the fact, if you can believe it, is that even the romance in the early part is whittled down to mere statement, to make room for the main story of a doctor and his troubles in the profession. They are endlessly indebted to the book but they've gone beyond it to a cleaner unity.

With Rosalind Russell and Robert Donat as the main pair of young folks, the story passes with as much economy as possible from the hopeful, difficult start in a Welsh mining village to the better job in a region kinder but still dogged in its opposition to progress and the high dreams of youth, to London, the first failure and the later success which proved so nearly disastrous. Details by the way are left out wherever the meaning can get along without them —surprisingly few for such a full book, and the picture runs about as long as it possibly could: two hours. Its statement is against bureaucracy and incompetence, against all the selfish and smug and ignorant, and for the wild and blessed young men who must go the hard way, upstream, for the good which they have imagined and with which they would touch the world—its statement is at times a beautiful and heartening thing, especially in the rousing words at the end, where Robert Donat rises to the level of his theme and does as fine a peroration as the screen has shown. Always an actor of charm, Mr. Donat has the chance here to fill out a character with a base of depth and power.

The cast, in fact, is the happiest thing of this or any other recent film, for no matter where you turn there is a good man there holding down the base—Rex Harrison, Emlyn Williams, Cecil Parker—and Ralph Richardson as Denny deserves special thanks, for his handsome talent and plain, honest face. Then too, all the subsidiary people who might have got so distressingly in the way are just about right for their scenes, the most delightful surprise being the scene where Welsh miners at a meeting talk and carry on in the dialect of Welsh miners.

Such things are rarely a matter of chance. King Vidor has been at his strongest and best in building, by scrupulous patience and a human understanding that amounts to genius in itself, a background of things and people and local habits which changes the stripped attitudes of melodrama to the living substance of drama itself. And here he is as good as he has been for years, because while the background changes as the theme develops, the general frame for each sequence carries its own unquestioned naturalness, until the original awkward break between Manson the idealist and Manson the well tailored is almost bridged in the film story (the handling of such scenes as that of the doctors at golf is partly responsible; and part of it comes from such interpolated business as dinner in the little restaurant and Denny's terrific fall off the wagon). Moving pictures as a grown-up medium haven't had a finer representative for a long time, or a more forthright comment on human affairs ever; and if what it takes is prying our directors out of Hollywood and sending them off on a boat where they can get something done, then I guess it is time for all good men to pack their trunks, giving Hollywood back to the Indians. (And you can throw Joe Breen into the bargain, not that they could have any possible use for him but they might fancy the scalp.)

The Little Carnegie Theatre in New York is presently opening a picture you will probably want to see, a rather delicate and touching little piece about girl dancers called "Ballerina" (in French, with the usual English titles). It was made from a Paul Morand novel by Jean Benoit-Levy, who with Marie Epstein directed "Maternelle"; and while it lacks the intensity and wonderful children of the former picture, it does escape some of its sticky quality. The story is a simple enough little business about a pupil at the National Opera so infatuated with one star of the ballet that she drops her rival through a trap in the stage; crippled for life, the rival becomes a teacher and in this capacity voices the main idea: dancing is a matter above personal heartbreak and must go on.

They deliberately picked an ugly duckling for the main child part, Janine Charrat; and while the principle is not only sound but a relief after the eternal talking dolls of screen tradition, its application is a bit awkward here. According to the script Janine is the star pupil in the top class, but according to what you see on the screen she is mostly knees, which is no aid to illusion. In the general atmosphere of child-life, Benoit-Levy is as sensitive and right backstage at the opera as he is in a plain country school. The main thing in "Ballerina" is the child's world, with its solemnities and innocent exaggerated importance; and in spite of slow story movement and attitudes a bit too rapt for comfort, it is a world well pictured because well understood. OTIS FERGUSON

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The Bandwagon

American radicals who deserted democracy, which has made America the safe home and sanctuary for the downtrodden of all Old World exiles, walking disconsolate and penitent in the loneliness of fall landscapes in Van Cortlandt and Tibbetts Brook Parks, and acknowledging to themselves that neither of the modern departures from representative government satisfies personal liberty or well-being, stop to pick up the mocker-nut of the white-heart hickory and think they have found a prize at last. – *J. Otis Swift in his column in The New York World-Telegram.*

We stand midway between Rome and the rest of the Protestant world. We cannot commit ourselves to social welfare, which is descended from Plato and has no direct relation to the soul of man. – *Dr. G. H. Bechtold, superintendent of the Philadelphia Inner Mission Board, quoted in The New York Times.*

The jury returned a verdict, in accordance with the medical evidence, that death was due to shock from exposure. They added: "It is very unsatisfactory that a naked woman should have been wandering on the beach in the middle of the night." – *News item in The Daily Telegraph, London, quoted in The New Statesman.*

Art in Short Pants

The screen will help to keep the mind of the nation young as long as it continues to draw upon the greatest theses of life and of literature and to use the best which art, music and drama afford. . . . It will continue to demonstrate that those qualities which made America are still strong and young—which is to whisper to every American mother who watches the screen that her small boy may yet be President. – *Will Hays, president of the Motion Picture Producers' Association, in a speech to The Herald Tribune Forum on Current Events, quoted in The New York Post.*

Choose Your Disease

Dr. Jaime DeAngulo, 54, retired San Francisco physician, today escaped a prison term for cattle rustling because he is afflicted with claustrophobia, a fear of enclosed places. – *Dispatch from Salinas, California, printed in The San Francisco Chronicle.*

Of Mice and Men

We never expected to live to see the day when young Filipinos would be found picketing in a strike an old established American place of business. . . . San Franciscans of old American stock, have you lost your manhood? – *From an editorial printed in The San Francisco Argonaut.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Coöperative Congress

SIR: While The Kansas City Star gave front pages to the national convention of the Girl Scouts of America and the regional convention of the Kiwanis, meeting in Kansas City last month, it overlooked 600 delegates and visitors representing 965,000 members of coöperatives who met there for the Eleventh Biennial Congress of the Coöperative League, October 12, 13 and 14. To these deliberations The Star and its local contemporaries devoted from one to five paragraphs a day buried under eight-point heads. Meanwhile the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company carried special broadcasts by outstanding coöperative leaders and the news services begged the Kansas City press for news. . . .

The Congress itself received reports that the first coöp oil refinery in the United States will be built in Kansas next spring as a step toward serving the 2,000 gas and oil coöps, which did $110,000,000 worth of business in petroleum products last year. . . . Delegates discussed the creation of a cooperative financial institution to serve the movement, and the annual meeting of the Consumers' Coöperative Association, held just prior to the Coöp Congress, voted to use their central coöp wholesale as a depository for excess funds of the 400 coöps affiliated with the Consumers' Coöperative Association. . . .

On the score of closer relations with the labor movement, the Coöp Congress marked several important steps. Both the A. F. of L. and the CIO sent special representatives to Kansas City and the A. F. of L., meeting at the same time in Houston, approved a resolution endorsing the consumer-coöperative movement. . . . The Coöperative Congress at its closing session reciprocated by a resolution on organized labor, declaring:

". . . BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the delegates of the Convention of the Coöperative League of the U.S.A. recognize the principle of organization and collective bargaining for their employees, and call on organized labor to recognize the unique function of the coöperative movement in building an economic structure controlled by consumers in their own interest and further recognize its responsibility to maintain relations with coöperative associations which will not place them at a disadvantage with their private competitors or prevent their performing effectively in the interest of workers who are all consumers."

In consolidating its own gains, the coöperative movement moved into the third stage of its development. Organized in 1916 as a federation of individuals interested in propagating the idea of consumers' coöperation, the Coöperative League in the twenties became a federation of retail coöperative associations. Within the last few years the American movement has moved into a third stage, in which the national educational federation of the movement is made up of regional coöperative associations. Official cognizance of that development resulted in the election of a board of directors representing these federation of coöps. Dr. James P. Warbasse, who has served as president of the Coöperative League of the U.S.A. since it was organized twenty-two years ago, was reëlected president.

WALLACE J. CAMPBELL
The Coöperative League

New York City

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Congress and Foreign Affairs

SIR: "We believe," you say . . . "that Congress needs to keep tighter strings on our foreign policy—probably through the creation of a joint committee which must be consulted before any important line is adopted" [The New Republic, November 2].

Have you recently reread the Supreme Court's decision in the Gran Chaco embargo case? Have you read previous decisions on the degree and nature of legislative relationship to executive control over foreign relations?

From such decisions it is hard to escape the conclusion that a joint committee, even were it to be created, which is most doubtful, would inevitably trespass constitutional limitations. Also what about precedents in this country and elsewhere of legislative consultation on executive direction of foreign relations? Do they exist, where, what, etc.?

Haven't we come to the stage at which every consideration of "what this country needs, etc.," should be conditioned by what this country can conceivably, reasonably, realistically, etc., get?

Brooklyn, N. Y. PHINEAS VINTNER

From Two Catholics

SIR: Congratulations on the publication of George Seldes' splendid article, "Father Coughlin: Anti-Semite." It is indeed a crime that this priest is permitted to preach and write such racial rubbish in the name of Him who preached we are all one. Certainly the insinuations and outright charges made by Father Coughlin cannot possibly be reconciled with the teachings of the Roman Pontiffs. It is a peculiar paradox, but while Rome condemns racial hatred, it is apparently propagated in America by a Catholic priest.

Every organization has its crackpots and its extremists. I suppose that even my Church would not be the Catholic Church without its share of the lunatic fringe.

RICHARD L-G. DEVERALL

Villanova, Pa. Editor and Publisher, The Christian Front

SIR: *Re* your "Catholics' Lunatic Fringe" on page 347 of the November 2 issue, let me assure you that I know no thinking Catholic who agrees with the policies of the Church in supporting Franco, the initial Hitler support, and least of all with the activity of the Catholic harlot, the American Catholic press. I except from that blanket condemnation The Commonweal, which is doing its level best under its new editors to pursue at least an intelligently neutral course. The Catholic policy of finding a Red behind every bush is worse than the activity of paid agents of Fascist powers who profess half-jocularly, half-seriously, to find two behind every bush. This latest activity, the UCOPRC, is another step in a blatantly wrong direction; let these gentlemen take heed of the lesson of Austria, where quickly 40 percent of its Catholics dispensed with the Church at the excuse of Hitler's domination—a needless sacrifice but an understandable one if the activities of the Austrian Church were anything like those in pre-Republican Spain or Mexico or even these ignorant gentlemen in the American Church.

There is very evident, to young Catholics especially, a sharp division among American Catholics: the young Catholics can think for themselves and see their own Church driving them by its insane, insupportably ridiculous policies, into radicalism of the very kind the Church has most reason to fear; the older Catholics are led sheeplike, preferring to believe the incredible fictions fostered by the rotten Catholic press than to use their own rudimentary thinking processes. A recent reviewer gave notice to one of my new books by pointing to it with pride as the work of one of the "most important younger Catholic novelists"; it is not a label I would have fostered by any means. I have no quarrel with the theological background of the Church, but with its notoriously inept and damnable politics I have every thinking man's right to be thoroughly and incontrovertibly disgusted. . . .

Sauk City, Wis. AUGUST DERLETH

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Albert Pucci of Hennepin, Illinois, thanks us for the excerpts from "The Letters of Lincoln Steffens" (September 28 and October 5) and for Max Lerner's "It Is Later Than You Think" (November 2 and this issue). Mr. Pucci regards this as a valuable service, especially to readers "in the hinterland," where libraries are scarce. . . . Berenice Noar of New York City questions John T. Flynn's statement in "Recovery Through War Scares" (November 2) that the Communist Party is in favor of heavy armament for the United States. In contradiction she quotes a statement from a speech by an anonymous party member, in which he said: "We feel our defense lies in economic pressure—through embargo and boycott; not through force of arms." . . . John Smith of Greenwich, Connecticut, thinks The New Republic's foreign policy is "old-fashioned." He believes the United States must join the democracies of Europe (he doesn't name them) in order to retain our "fast-ebbing superiority over the fascist powers."

William Taylor of Chicago endorses our editorial recommendation for an investigation of the State Department (October 26). An alliance with Great Britain, he writes, could bring no benefit to this country. . . . Campbell Bosson of Boston adds a footnote to Mr. Postgate's letter in the November 2 issue ". . . There may be a difference of opinion as to whether a statesman should ever lead his country into war, but I cannot imagine anyone thinking that a statesman should lead his country into a losing war." . . . A. D. Faupell, leader of the Fellowship of Humanity, Oakland, California, announces that his Fellowship, representing a membership of 404, has unanimously adopted Mr. L. L. Whyte's "Scientists' Oath" (August 24). Emily Hillkowitz, president of the Inter-Professional Association of San Diego, California, writes that its forty members have also adopted Mr. Whyte's oath.

What's on the Air?

Lillian T. Mowrer, author and foreign correspondent, talks on "Where Is Europe Going?" Sunday, November 13, 1:30 P.M., CBS.

"The United States and England's Foreign Policy" is discussed by Major George Fielding Eliot, Clyde Miller, head of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, and Philip Johnson, free-lance writer, Sunday, November 13, 7 P.M., CBS.

Colonel Frederick Palmer, dean of war correspondents, discusses "Peace—How Long and How?" Sunday, November 13, 10:30 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

"How Can the American Nations Coöperate for World Peace?" is discussed by Edward Tomlinson, Major Eliot and Professor Charles G. Fenwick, Thursday, November 17, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include Arturo Toscanini, Saturday, November 12, 10 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; New York Philharmonic, Sunday, November 13, 3 P.M., CBS; Orson Welles's dramatization of Dickens' "The Pickwick Papers," Sunday, November 13, 8 P.M., CBS; Wilbur Daniel Steele's "Luck," Thursday, November 17, 10 P.M., CBS; and Dr. Walter Damrosch, Friday, November 18, 2 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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Books in Review

Malraux's Best Novel

IN JUNE OF 1936 I was chairman of an international congress of writers held in London. Almost the whole time we discussed, on the proposition of the French delegation, the compilation of a vast encyclopedia of the arts and sciences, a kind of modern Port Royal, which was to provide intellectual authority for the progressive forces of the world. It was really André Malraux who dominated that congress, making contributions to esthetic theory in brilliantly argued theses, exhorting skeptical novelists, coaxing mid-European waverers in vehement French which they barely understood, or springing to the platform to obliterate H. G. Wells, who had made a witty, sneering and jealous speech against the beloved encyclopedia. I remember disputing with him myself, pacing up and down the courtyard of the Friends' House. "Before six months are out we shall be fighting fascism in another way," I said. The next time I met Malraux was at Madrid, at the 1937 Writers' Congress. By then he had performed one of the most striking of feats, the organization of an International Air Squadron, and was halfway through a novel. "It is my best," he told me, and now I believe him, having read it[1] three times. On the first reading I had thought it a little less successful than "La Condition Humaine." I was misled, judging it by formalistic standards, rather than by the sheer depth of its perception, and the startling, almost unbearable brilliance of its writing.

Malraux, like other writers who have taken part in the Spanish war, has been asked a thousand times why he participated. The man's whole work has been concerned, even before the Spanish war, with the answer to that question. The primary substance of his writing is two problems, that of man's development as an artist (or the artist's emergence into manhood) and that of his integration with the action of society. In the preface to the intense though brief "Days of Wrath" (which Malraux himself underestimates), he says, "In Kassner's opinion, as in that of some other Communist intellectuals, communism restores to the individual all the creative potentialities of his nature." The plea for action, and his instinctive comparison of it with artistic creation, come again in "Man's Fate." Ferral, who presumably speaks for Malraux, says to the serene old Kama, the Japanese painter, "Action alone justifies life. . . . What would we think if we were told of a painter who makes no pictures?" And, differentiating his revolutionary position from that of those reactionaries who, as Jules Romains says, praise action because they detest thought, he puts into the mouth of Garcia, the intellectual communist of this work, a sentence of exceeding lucidity. The question is put, how can a man best spend his life? Garcia replies, "By converting as wide a range of experience as possible into conscious thought."

[1] Man's Hope, by André Malraux. New York: Random House. $2.50

As to the story and the manner of its telling: All the qualities that distinguish the earlier books are here. The flaring brilliance of illumination is maintained; indeed, the current crackles out of the wiring system at times. Certain scenes stand out in one's recollection of his earlier works. Ferral's liberation of the flock of birds in his mistress' bedroom, for instance, the flight of Kassner to Prague for another. Certain passages of poetry always recall themselves, such as Clappique's visit to Kyo's house and his looking at Japanese drawings, which at the moment he hated, because "The taste for serenity is weakness in hunted men." At times during one's reading of "Man's Hope" one almost shouts out against the long continued, relentless visibility of the thing. Mercery, the fire-brigade commander, standing at the top of his ladder in a blazing Madrid street, being shot at by the roaring Italian planes that had set fire to the block, and at last falling dead to the pavement. The shooting of the peasants and Captain Hernandez outside Toledo; the first fight of the Soviet planes (ah, that nearly burst our hearts!), the fight of the International Brigade in the hospital building, the fall of Magnin's plane on the snowy mountainside and the profound human drama of his welcome by the villagers in the ravine, the wild dogs running before the German tanks, a score of scenes cannot be forgotten. There are moments, it is true, when this visibility seems to degenerate into a trick, as when he writes, "Beside him lay the village grocer, dead, the shadow of a butterfly flicking at his face." Nevertheless, it is this very torturing visibility which makes one feel the pain, to the evaluating mind, of the struggle in Spain.

There is poetry galore also. During a horrible interrogation, concerning a Loyalist pilot whose eyes had been torn out by Moors, a clock chimes sweetly from beneath a heap of wretched bric-a-brac, like a fantastic hallucination. Outside Valencia, in a drizzling rain, Magnin runs into enormous figures of Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck; huge cardboard figures prepared for a children's festival, by the trade unions.

The obsession with sex, objectionable in "Man's Fate," has gone. Scali, the Italian art-professor pilot, gets into a ridiculous jam because of a professional lady's misunderstanding of a purely technical remark; that is all. There used to be some sort of criticism of Malraux that he sought to fascinate us with violence. And, by the way, that criticism used to fasten upon the terrible and self-sought end of the terrorist in "Man's Fate." But there are such fanatics of heroism in the Spanish war. There were men who discovered that an advancing tank could be blown up with a stick of dynamite tossed into the caterpillar belt. The communist seaman Coll destroyed fifteen tanks outside Madrid, before his inevitable end. I think none will say of "Man's Hope" that it *exploits* violence. The book, moreover, demonstrates an advance in Malraux's control of himself. Magnin, the chief of the volunteer air squadron, by historical definition is Malraux himself. But

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he is not the central figure of the book, nor do his thought processes receive disproportionate attention. As that excellent literary critic, Friedrich Engels, remarked, "The more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art."

There is more in "Man's Hope" than all this. That facile criticism I made of it on first reading, that it is not so good a formal unity as "Man's Fate," has no validity. The form is in the vision. José Diaz, in his report to the Spanish Communist Party convention of March, 1937, drew attention to three definite phases in the Spanish resistance. These three periods have been noticed by almost every participant or close observer. In a long account of the formation of the People's Army published in The New Republic in October, 1937, I called these phases the Romantic, the Awakening and the Realist periods. Each has its problems and character, each produces its definitive men; the psychological phenomena of each are distinct. Malraux has described this ternary dialectic with marvelous precision; from the Careless Rapture of the first days, to the macabre decay of Toledo, the awakening of Madrid and the final creation of the army under the guidance of the Communists. It is a history of Emergence, of Order out of Chaos by means of magnificent fellowship. It is a story of man's hope. It is this articulation which provides the book with a more than formal structure. No doubt I was especially disposed by events to see this logic, but I am sure that it will dominate other readers' imaginations also. There are one or two omissions from Malraux's scheme. He has not felt, for instance, the poignancy of the religious problem in Spain. But there can only be one summing up: "Man's Hope" is a great book. RALPH BATES

Walt Whitman's Opinions

Whitman, by Newton Arvin. New York: The Macmillan Company. 330 pages. $2.75.

ON HIS OPENING PAGE Newton Arvin sets himself a single question, the degree to which Whitman may be regarded as a socialist poet, and devotes his volume to a detailed and searching answer. His structure consists of successive chapters on Whitman's politics, his economics, his views on science, philosophy and religion, with a final synthesis which gives a more thorough grounding of the poet's thoughts in the matrix of his time than we have heretofore possessed for any American writer. Arvin has utilized every available kind of material, ranging from the early random journalism, which during the last few years Holloway and others have shown to be more extensive than used to be assumed, down to the interminable conversations with Traubel and the other disciples who tried to draw the old man out on any conceivable subject. In weaving through this mass Arvin has demonstrated how impossible it is to give any one answer to what views Whitman held.

It is not merely that the young admirer of William Leggett, the adherent of left-wing Jacksonianism, is inevitably different from the admirer of Grant and Carnegie, who nevertheless becomes enthusiastic about free trade under Cleveland and looks out hopefully to internationalism. For, in addition, within any given period, Whitman's complacent acceptance of the circumstances immediately around him was always capable of the most paradoxical contrasts. The radical affirmer of humanity was at times by no means clear on abolition or unprejudiced about the Negro; even more unexpected, the writer of "Democratic Vistas" and of notes on "The Tramp and Strike Questions," who, in the light of the panics of the seventies, discerned the growing portent of "vast crops of poor, desperate, dissatisfied, miserably waged populations," could yet turn around and declare to a reporter his belief that "things in our time . . . all are going on as well as possibly could be." Many of his pronouncements, written to fill a column or expounded to live up to the role of prophet, carry no very high voltage; and few claims can be advanced for his power on the level of conscious thought. Yet, through the very blur of his inconsistencies, there finally emerges a curiously typical image of the sanguine confused American who belonged in youth to the world of the small farmer and artisan; who was aware of the economic needs of plain people and yet, sustained by an ingenuous idealism, was still too hopeful of the future to be moved by Brisbane's utopian socialism; who, in the period of the great plunder, still kept his Jacksonian distrust of inequality, but was nevertheless excited by the spectacle of the triumphant march of industry.

An acute problem is where to put your emphasis in charting the drift of such flux, and, even with all Arvin's skill and tenacity, it cannot be wholly resolved. For the Whitman who at the close of the chapter on "Wealth and Illth" is moving to a solider enunciation of socialist principles is, in the next chapter, shown to have been drifting at the very same time to a looser faith in the unseen and life beyond. Arvin is aware of the necessity at every juncture of distinguishing between Whitman's superficial complacencies and the deeper loyalty to his instincts, but the pages which deal with Whitman's religion seem to be the one occasion when his own firm materialism causes him to desire a kind of scientific poet who could not possibly have produced "Song of Myself." He makes the keen observation that one factor which prevented Whitman from soaring so far into the transcendental void as Emerson was his early debt to the clear-sighted rationalism of Paine and Frances Wright. But it seems futile to regret that as a boy Whitman was equally stirred by the "obscurantism" of Elias Hicks. For one thing unmistakable from the first accents of "Leaves of Grass" is that Whitman, in his celebration of the solid glories of the earth, is moved to that desire by a mystical intuition that finds the formulas of "the age of reason" shallow and inadequate. Without that vibrant response to what he considered the inner light, he could not have written his kind of poetry at all.

In stating my demur in such brief compass, I have done injustice to the careful qualifications with which Arvin supports his position; and there can be nothing but praise for the discernment and restrained eloquence with which, in his closing section, he affirms Whitman's significance. The figure to whom he wants to draw his reader's attention is the man who "did more than all but a few other writers to domesticate the modern sensibility in its natural setting," who could embrace so much of the common life of his times, not as a romantic gesture, but "because he was himself quite literally one of the people," who could say unaffectedly, "I have imagined a life which should be that of the average man in average circumstances, and still grand, heroic."

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My one misgiving about Arvin's critical approach lies in his acceptance of the current simplified conception of "the usable past." He believes Whitman to have a special claim upon a socialist audience, "to be the real 'ancestor' of our own generation and of the future," because he voices the healthy, forward-moving, progressive life of his time. He holds that Whitman's optimism was "an intrinsically more creative attitude" than "the repudiation of it by men like Poe and Melville." At this point serious questions obtrude themselves, questions which can scarcely be answered here, but may be briefly brought to focus by the remark in Yeats's "Autobiography" that Emerson and Whitman "have begun to seem superficial precisely because they lack the Vision of Evil." Is the availability of a poet to be made to correspond to the degree in which his opinions chime in with our hopes? Is it not rather the function of the artist to bring to concentrated expression every major phase of human experience, its doubts and anguish and tortured defeats as well as its cheerful confidence? Indeed, is not one measure of the great artist his refusal to yield us any innocent simplification, his presentation of an account of life as intricate in its harsh tragic matching of good and evil, as complex in its necessities of constant struggle as the life that we ourselves know? Will any less dense past correspond to our usages as mature human beings?

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

American Desert, with Oases

America Now, by Thirty-six Americans. Edited by Harold Stearns. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 616 pages. $3.

THERE ARE some good essays in this book, though it suffers greatly from the fact that there is no unifying idea common to the writers whom Mr. Stearns has gathered into his team. Some of the essays raise serious questions in an interesting way, like those of Mr. Chamberlain on fiction, and Mr. Flynn on business. Others are poor stuff, like the puff for the advertising profession which Mr. Stearns has so curiously admitted. Most of them are not really long enough to get under way with their themes. They read like those Chinese plays in which, when you have watched a series of curtain-raisers and are ready for the show to begin, you learn that the play is over.

What seems to emerge from it all is a fairly uniform conviction that there is a good deal of promise in American life, and that the essayists hope (without being too hopeful) that it will be realized. The general picture is more complicated than perhaps any of them saw as he wrote his individual piece; and the reader will find it difficult to thread his way to any comprehensive pattern. Everyone feels that there are some good things in the department he covers; everyone is at pains to emphasize that there is also not enough of the good. But, among the team, there are few who have sought to dig down into the roots of American life and find the causes of the phenomena they describe. Too often, perhaps, their allotted space expired at the moment when they had reached the point where they moved to the threshold of the significant.

So that, at bottom, Mr. Stearns and his colleagues give no sense of direction. They are not pessimistic, though they are disturbed. They find things to praise, though they discover no consistent system of values. The outsider who revisits America will learn from this volume of things for which he ought to look, though he will seldom be told with any confidence why he should look for them. He will be surprised at certain omissions. There is nothing directly upon political institutions—though these have undergone immense changes in the last decade. There is nothing, either, upon rural America, though the changes here are among the most remarkable in the American scene. There is nothing about the impact of European decay in renewing in America evil principles which many of those who are most active in renovating came to this country to escape. There is too much preoccupation with the problem of size and the fear that size is itself a danger. I am not sure, for instance, that Dr. Gauss, who writes on education, does not feel that too many people are being educated in America. Is this a general view? And if it is, should we not have been given a reasoned account of why so eminent an educator has, if my inference be right, lost his faith—the essential faith of an earlier America—in the power of education to create? There is too little, again, on the problems of the big cities; and there is no serious word on what is implicit in the achievement of the LaGuardia administration in New York—an achievement which opens vistas of extraordinary significance for urban America. So, too, the treatment of religion is quite inadequate, even though the rigid dogmatism of Father Talbot is revealing in its unconscious emphasis of the death of that temper in his church that was once made so notable in its expression through men like Archbishop Ireland.

At no time in American history was a discussion of the fundamentals so necessary as now. But that discussion, to be creative, cannot be undertaken save by writers who have lived together and thought together, and so developed a common philosophic outlook. Such a book would be of great value; for to make an assessment is to provide a platform and a program. Mr. Stearns has given us some good things, very occasionally some flashes of real insight. But a great deal of his volume is pretty sandy desert; and one does not travel across a desert for the sake of the oasis.

HAROLD J. LASKI

Musician's Memories

Chords and Discords, by Sam Franko. New York: The Viking Press. 196 pages. $2.75.

GENERAL BUTLER'S occupation of New Orleans benefited at least one other person besides himself. He looted the jewelry store of Sam Franko's father, clapped him into prison for refusing to endorse a London check, and only after his wife's payment of a bribe of $5,000 some time later, allowed him to escape with his family to New York. From New York they went straight to Berlin, and there began the long life of music that is recorded in this book of memories. Franko's own performances, his compositions and arrangements, his contacts with most of the leading musicians of Europe and America—Wagner, Brahms, Joachim, almost everybody down to the author's death last year—are recorded at varying lengths, always generously, in good taste, never obtusely. Such an amount of direct record only adds to the value of these persuasive and delightful pages.

S. Y.

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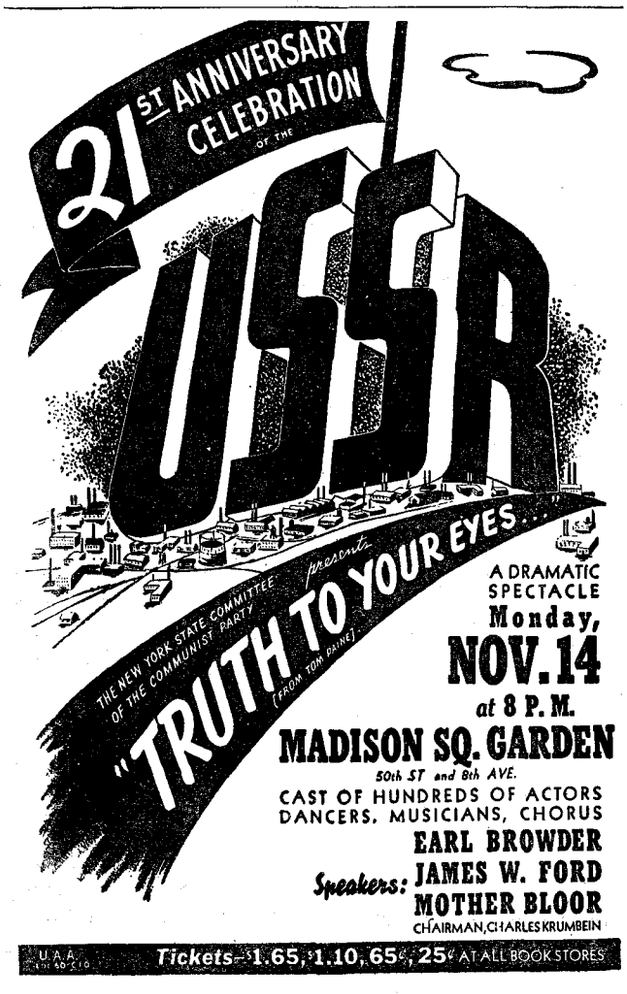
Cassandra in the Wilderness

While England Slept, by Winston S. Churchill. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 416 pages. $4.

THIS VOLUME of Mr. Churchill's speeches, for the most part in the House of Commons, between 1932 and 1938, constitutes a running comment on the developing European crisis. Mr. Randolph S. Churchill contributes a preface, and introduces each speech with brief notes of intervening events and important utterances, thus making the book a useful summary of world affairs. It shows Mr. Churchill fighting a valiant rearguard action. In April, 1933, he is found defending the treaties of Versailles and Trianon, and warning that "as surely as Germany acquires full military equality with her neighbors while her own grievances are still unredressed . . . so surely should we see ourselves within a measurable distance of the renewal of general European war." For a time he relied on the League of Nations, but as Germany acquired not only equality but superiority in armament, his constant theme became protest against the optimism of the British government and condemnation of its failure to prepare adequately for war.

In the light of recent events it would be superfluous to point out Mr. Churchill's claim to the lineage of Cassandra. He persistently attacked the policy of urging a general disarmament without accepting responsibility for possible eventualities. "Even more vain is it for the United States to press indiscriminate disarmament upon the European states, unless, of course, the United States is prepared to say to those nations which take her advice . . . that they will receive her aid if trouble should arise." R. M. LOVETT



Byrd Alone

Alone, by Richard E. Byrd. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 305 pages. $2.50.

THE COMMANDER of the expeditions to Little America tells the story of a new kind of exploration. Leaving the others at the main base, Byrd went 126 miles inland on the Ross Barrier to spend the months of the Antarctic night holed up alone in a shack sunk flush with the ice surface, equipped to sustain life and observe the polar weather scientifically. But while the main purpose was meteorological (and Byrd says that trained findings in this region are crucial to the better understanding of all weather), a good half of it with him was curiosity about the experience of being the only living thing in the world for five months, and would not a man get himself philosophically straightened out in such cosmic peace?

The experience was fascinating and also terrible, but not for the reasons anticipated. In the first place, it seems that in order to get so far from the world it can't touch you, you enter conditions demanding some twelve hours a day hard labor just to keep alive and healthy, with more chores than a Polish farmer and even less to show for it. This was no life of contemplation: in temperatures going down to (finally) 83 below zero a man is too busy with complete new laws of physics to go mad. "At 50 below zero a flashlight dies in your hand. At −55 kerosene will freeze, and the flame will dry up on the wick. At −60 rubber turns brittle. Below −60 cold will find the last microscopic touch of oil in an instrument and stop it dead."

In the second place, what broke him was not the polar cold and isolation but a flaw in the elaborate equipment (make no mistake about his own scrupulous and patient care in an environment where one careless step is absolutely your last). The oil stove had a small carbon-monoxide leak that slowly made him toxic, and then the gasoline generator for the radio backed up the same gas one day, bringing him so near to death that his survival for the next two months was a miracle and a nightmare, actually painful to read about.

In general there is a sort of tragic cancellation here. Forcing himself through a delirium of pain to open a simple tin or lurch from bed to chair, he still had to keep up a gigantic labor of warming and working the radio so that the main base would not get alarmed and take chances—and this in turn made him even weaker, until they finally suspected something and took a chance almost as long as if they had come for him in the first place. Admiral Byrd's adventures into the unknown and his eternal fortitude, even in the self-analytic understatement of his approach, make a vivid and sometimes terrifying story. But throughout there remains a question mark in the reader's mind: endurance and heroism demand a cause, an inescapable reason—some large catastrophe or religious ideal, some need for land or living—if they are to become essentially tragic. For while even the best account and the best reader's imagination must fall short of the truth of such miseries endured hour after hour, day after day, the heroic is somehow defeated when Fate becomes something you deliberately rigged up yourself and disaster your cup of tea.

OTIS FERGUSON

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Told in Exile

The Fishmans, by H. W. Katz. Translated by Maurice Samuel. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

IN THIS NOVEL written from exile, a thirty-year-old Jewish-German refugee tells us of his childhood in a little Galician village. The narrator's father, Yossel Fishman, is a typical Jewish peddler who, like the other members of his community, wages a hopeless struggle for survival in an anti-Semitic environment. Two years before the War, he emigrates to America, to prepare the way for his young wife and two children. But when he hears that his native town has been occupied by the Russian troops, he rushes back to Europe, only to be drafted into the Austrian infantry.

The simple incidents which compose this story are told in a prose so brilliant that it largely redeems the loose construction of the plot and the unevenness in the characterizations. But what is really appealing in the novel is a certain innate "taste for happiness," a sure sense of the true values of living and a serenity that asserts itself throughout every scene and in spite of the author's tragic experiences. Only those so perfectly adapted to their present life that they never need to turn their looks toward the past, or dream about a different future, can remain unstirred by the indomitable loyalty and courage which speak from these pages.

"The Fishmans" stops at the point when the narrator, at the age of eight, loses his mother. As this book deals with childhood, the author's basic attitude is expressed in terms of feelings only. If the sequel that we are promised succeeds in maintaining the qualities shown in this first part, while dealing with the hero at a later stage of his development, the whole work may well turn out to be the outstanding record of the generation that "fought" the war at the age of seven.

NORBERT GUTERMAN

New Books: A Reader's List

DUNANT: THE STORY OF THE RED CROSS, by Martin Gumpert (Oxford, $2.50). The life story of Henri Dunant, real originator of the Red Cross. A bourgeois idealist, banker and humanitarian who could not forget his experiences as an onlooker at the Battle of Solferino in 1859, Dunant wrote in 1862 the vivid "Recollections of Solferino," an honest picture of war horror that stirred kings, statesmen and philanthropists to the need for a "neutral" organization of mercy. A brilliant picture of the nineteenth-century mind, shadowed with pessimism about the future of humanitarian feeling.

MAN AND HIS BODY, by Howard W. Haggard (Harper's, $4). A straightforward popular exposition by a responsible authority of how the human body works and what happens when it fails to work properly. Compactly arranged, with numerous subheads and a good index (but not enough illustrations), the book is admirably adapted for reference and self-instruction.

THE WINDSOR TAPESTRY, by Compton Mackenzie (Stokes, $3.75). Feeling the Duke of Windsor to be a much maligned figure and the victim of the ultra-conservatism of Lord Baldwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the author makes a long and somewhat muddled protest in the course of which he investigates the marriages and loves of the House of Hanover.

"Excellent."—THE CRITERION *"Pretty Good."—GERTRUDE STEIN*

"Very good."—EDMUND WILSON

"Insincere and artificial."—MALCOLM COWLEY *"Trotskyite impostors!" DAILY WORKER*

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In the FALL ISSUE (just out):

- **IGNAZIO SILONE:** The School for Dictators. A brilliant satire on fascism.
- **A LITTLE ANTHOLOGY OF YOUNGER BRITISH POETS.** Edited by D. S. Savage.
- **ANDRÉ BRETON & DIEGO RIVERA:** Manifesto. "Towards a Free Revolutionary Art."
- **EDMUND WILSON:** The Myth of the Marxist Dialectic. With a reply by William Phillips.
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THE FIVE SISTERS, by William E. Blatz (Morrow, $2.50). A valuable study in modern child psychology provided with charts, tables, graphs and photographs of and about the Quintuplets—five identical human beings in a guided, self-contained group. It should aid parents in understanding the problems of childhood and create a demand for preschools everywhere that would incorporate the same high type of training.

WOLF AMONG WOLVES, by Hans Fallada (Putnam, $3). Another novel about post-war inflation in Germany by the author of "Little Man, What Now?" this time concerned with three members of the less timid but equally bewildered ex-officer class. The slight plot and sub-plot—the separation and reunion of two lovers and the disintegration of a Junker family—are subordinate to the purpose of showing practically a whole people demoralized by insecurity, as bankrupt of morals as of cash. Mr. Fallada, one of the few internationally known German authors who are working under the Third Reich, makes very few ventures into politics. He says in effect that a condition like this could not go on, but seven hundred-odd unleavened pages of incident about it go too long a way.

WHEN WOMEN LOVE, by E. M. Delafield (Harper's, $2.50). Three stories placed in the period of the Indian Mutiny, in London society of the 1890's and in the present day. There is no obvious connection between them; and Miss Delafield wavers too uncertainly between rose-leaf sentimentality and her own more natural manner of bright acidity.

Contributors

LEO H. LEHMANN, for many years a priest of the Roman Church, was born in Ireland. He studied at Mungret College, Limerick, All Hallows Church, Dublin, and obtained a degree from the University of Propaganda Fide at Rome. He severed his connection with the priesthood because he believed that religion, as constituted by the Roman Papacy, could not serve his conception of the Christian ideal and the interests of social and economic progress. He is the author of "The Soul of a Priest," "Ex-Priest and the Riddle of Religion" and "The Drama of William of Orange."

MAX LERNER has recently left the editorial staff of The Nation to teach at Williams College.

E. D. KENNEDY was for ten years an associate editor of Time and Fortune. His "Dividends to Pay," a study of business depressions, will be published this winter.

BULKLEY S. GRIFFIN is the Washington correspondent for a number of New England newspapers.

RALPH BATES is an English novelist who served for more than a year in the Spanish Republican army.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN, an associate professor of History and Literature at Harvard University, is the author of "Sarah Orne Jewett" and "The Achievement of T. S. Eliot." He is now on leave of absence, working on a critical study of American literature just before the Civil War.

HAROLD LASKI is at present in the United States, giving a series of graduate lectures at Columbia University.

NORBERT GUTERMAN, who has a doctorate from the Sorbonne, writes for magazines here and in Paris.

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